



**EXPANSION OF ALIGARH MOVEMENT
TILL 1947: ROLE OF MOHSINUL MULK,
VIQARUL MULK, AND SIR ZIAUDDIN**

ABSTRACT

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

By

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THESIS

Under the Supervision of

PROF. B.L.BHADANI

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

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ABSTRACT

The personality, par excellence, that appeared among the Muslims in the post-mutiny India was that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. C.F. Andrews while describing the greatness about Sir Syed said: "In Sir Syed Ahmad I saw the grandeur, the lion like strength, the high ideals the passionate enthusiasm of a great mind. No Musalman, whom I ever met impressed me more by the force and dignity of his character, and his commanding intellectual greatness than Sir Syed Ahmad. Whenever he went, he naturally took the lead. His personality demanded it and men instinctively followed him. His very presence and appearance were commanding. He was a born leader of man". It was the greatness of Sir Syed that by his magnificent lead he rescued the Muslim community from wallowing slough of despond.

Sir Syed had already seen the horror of the great Revolt of 1857 and its result was the total ruination of his community. The British took the Muslims solely responsible for the revolt and treated them very harshly, depriving them of all avenues of life and reducing them to extreme poverty. Since Sir Syed was close to British administration, he knew the British plans of crippling the Muslims, economically, educationally and politically. Sir Syed also knew that it was futile to resist a great power well-equipped in science and technology, while his community was still bent on opposing their new masters. Thus he was in a dilemma and had to fight both, his co-religionists and their immediate rulers.

Sir Syed was able to turn the Muslim thinking from irrational devotion to outworn and obscurantist learning to modern education, which enabled them to play their rightful part in the affairs of their country and he was also successful in bridging the gulf between British government and his co-religionists and thus able to convert the suspicion and hostility of the British rulers into confidence and friendship. Sir Syed founded in education the

panacea of all the ills of the contemporary Muslim society after the victimization of Muslims in revolt of 1857 and for the same he established M.A.O. College at Aligarh with the help of his co-religionists and with the cooperation of the British government.

Apart from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who was a pivot around whom the Aligarh Movement revolved, there were other brilliant, energetic and devoted men who contributed significantly to the Aligarh Movement. Some of them were: Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Moulvi Samiullah Khan, Syed Mahmud, Altaf Hussain Hali, Raja Jaikishan Das, Moulvi Zakaullah, Aga Khan, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin and Sheikh Abdullah. They created a profound influence and impact on the contemporary society. In fact, the system of education and the tradition of learning set by Sir Syed are intrinsic to Muslim education. Aligarh Movement during Sir Syed's period and the post Sir Syed period till 1947 left behind a rich legacy in the field of administration, education and politics specially due to the efforts of Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk and Sir Ziauddin and other associates of Sir Syed Ahmad. They created a sort of political consciousness among the Muslim community after Sir Syed and fought for their political rights during 20th century. Hence the study of Aligarh Movement after Sir Syed also assumes immense importance and particularly the post Sir Syed period forms an importance of Aligarh Movement in 20th century India.

The successors of Sir Syed made significant contribution in the Aligarh Movement and worked tremendously on different issues of Muslim politics through the platform of Aligarh Movement but they differed with Sir Syed views in respect to his political thought, his views on female education, his views on political participation of Muslims, in the national politics of the country and the Muslim interests have been taken up for detailed study. The immediate successor of Sir Syed were Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk and their contribution in Aligarh movement forms the important phase of the Aligarh movement in 20th century focused and their struggle and

achievements regarding the Muslim education, their political achievement and overall their views on certain aspects of the Muslim interest have been taken up for a detailed study here.

Muslim Intellectuals, Associates of Sir Syed and Vice Chancellors, and their views on the University Movement, which they had and the role they played in the Aligarh Movement were have also been discussed here.

A special attempt has been given to study the contribution of Shaikh Abdullah and his associates in providing modern education to Muslim women along with their contemporary women ideologues who worked for the Muslim female education at Aligarh and India in 20th century have also been studied here.

Another important aspect of Aligarh Movement was its impact on the different regions of India where the similar educational movements were launched to educate the Muslim community, for example Syed Imdad Ali and his Bihar Scientific Society which was established to impart the modern education through vernacular languages has been taken up for a brief study. The aspect of providing modern education in Southern India which was a neglected region and little has been focused to study the expansion and impact of Aligarh Movement on this region in 20th century have been taken up for a brief study.

Therefore the present thesis entitled **“Expansion of Aligarh Movement till 1947: Role of Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk and Sir Ziauddin”** attempts to study those aspects of Aligarh Movement during the period of Sir Syed and in the post Sir Syed period which are not focused properly or not given due importance.

Thus the thesis has been divided into seven chapters.

In the first chapter an attempt has been made to understand the condition and factors which made Sir Syed a great social reformer of Muslim community. What were the various factors which shaped the personality of Sir

Syed and to what extent Sir Syed was influenced by these factors focused here. An attempt is also made to highlight Sir Syed's Aligarh movement in broader aspects. In what condition Sir Syed launched his movement for the regeneration of the Muslim community and why he launched his movement ?. What were the aims of his movement in 19th century India, and to what extent his Aligarh movement was different from the other contemporary movements of India are focused here. An attempt is also made to understand Sir Syed's views on the different issues have been focused in details. Attempt is also made to understand his views about Congress, his discourses on female education, his secular approach in educational and political matters. Whether Sir Syed was a Champion of Hindu-Muslim unity or he worked for only the Muslim community? And to what extent his movement was Muslim centric or purely communal in approach, have been critically discussed after the close examination of his writings, speeches and letters.

In the second chapter attempt has been made to cover the period of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and his struggle and activities for the development of Muslim community which he had taken through Aligarh movement have been taken up in this chapter. To what extent he differed on various issues of Muslim concerns with Sir Syed and how he followed the footsteps of Sir Syed in certain issue of Muslim community and on Muslim British relationship form the theme of this chapter. The role of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk in the Aligarh Movement particularly his educational concern of his community for which he worked enthusiastically after the death of Sir Syed has been analyzed in this chapter. And how he was able to carry Sir Syed's dream to establish a University for the Muslims community at Aligarh. for which he launched his movement to collect the funds for the establishment of Muslim University have been discussed. The role he played to make the Aligarh Movement an all India Movement through the vehicle of All India Muslim Educational Conference and his attempt to make Muslims aware about their educational needs by organizing its session at the different corners of India to exhort the Muslims

towards the modern education also have been analyzed here. The political concerns of the Muslim community e.g. the Urdu-Hindi controversy which was raised by Hindu community and the British government and subsequent involvement of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who highlighted the Muslim anxiety regarding the political interest of his community is also discussed in this chapter.

In the third chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the political achievements of Nawab Viqarul Mulk became the first Muslim leader after Sir Syed and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who vigorously taken up the cause of Muslim concerns and raised the anxiety of Muslim community to the British Government over the issue of Hindi-Urdu controversy in 20th century. A study of his biographical as well as his contribution which he made through the Aligarh Movement in the 20th century will provide an insight into his greater concerns for his community. The educational and political consciousness of Nawab Viqarul Mulk and his achievements in this concern in the 20th century form the theme of this chapter.

The fourth chapter deals with Muslim intellectuals, the contemporaries of Sir Syed and the successive Vice Chancellors of Aligarh Muslim University and their role in shaping the Aligarh Movement in different ways have been discussed critically in this chapter. And how successors of Sir Syed differed in their views with British government on the question of proposed Muslim university after the death of Sir Syed and to what terms and conditions they wanted to get the Muslim University from the British government and their achievement to get the Act of 1920 form the theme of this chapter. The views of the Muslims community represented by Muslim intellectuals and some Indian leaders regarding the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University and the conditions on which they wanted their institution to be a unique one for which they struggled to get it from the British government also have been focused in this chapter.

In the fifth chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the contemporary politics of India and its impact on the Aligarh Movement vice-versa from 1913 to 1947 i.e. after the resignation of Nawab Viqarul Mulk to the post of Honorary Secretaryship of the M.A.O. College till the partition of India. How the Aligarh leaders and the Muslim community able to get a Muslim university which was a cherished dream of Sir Syed was discussed here. An attempt is also made to analyze the development of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement from the Aligarh leaders and their subsequent role in creation of a separate national University at Aligarh also discussed here. In this chapter an attempt is also made to analyze the nationalist and separatist trend which developed in the University and to what extent they played their role in the politics of the country in the first half of the 20th century has also been discussed here.

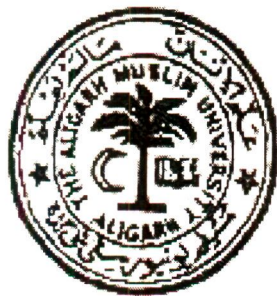
In the sixth chapter an attempt has been made to high light the personality of Dr. Sir Ziauddin and his contribution to the development of Aligarh Movement in 20th century. An attempt is also made to analyze his role in the in the expansion of the MAO College into a University. Focus has also been given to assess his role during the Non Cooperation and Partition Movement in the 20th century.

In the seventh chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the discourses on Muslim women by Sir Syed and his Associates and to what extent they were concerned to provide traditional and modern education to Muslim women in 19th century. This chapter also focuses the contribution Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his Associates for the development of modern education to the Muslim women through the platform of Aligarh Movement in 20th century. An attempt is made to study the women discourses and his revolutionary ideas related to the gender issues along with his other women ideologues and to what extent he was differed with Sir Syed views regarding women education have also been focused here.

In the eighth chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the impact of Aligarh Movement on the contemporary movements of India. An attempt is also made to investigate the nature of other contemporary movements and to what extent these were different from Aligarh Movement. Attempt is also made to know the impact and expansion of Aligarh Movement on the other regions of the Indian sub- continent during 20th century.

Hence, by making use of a good deal of untapped primary sources which are not consulted by the others particularly the *Private Papers* of the leaders of Aligarh Movement available at National Archives and Nehru Memorial Museum Library in Delhi, here an honest attempt is made to see the Aligarh Movement in a new direction in 20th century.

Therefore, in the present thesis an attempt has been made to discuss the Sir Syed's views on the different issue of his community particularly through the Aligarh Movement and also to focus the struggles and activities of his successors of Sir Syed who took Sir Syed movement ahead in the 20th century. Even focus has been given to those aspects of Aligarh Movement which either left out or not focused properly. I believe that by dealing with these aspects, this study will bring out new facts about Aligarh Movement and would also give new direction and dimension to the ever expanding Aligarh Movement.



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29 SEP 2014



T8357



Dedicated
To
My Beloved Parents





CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

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Aligarh Muslim University
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Dated: 4.11.2012

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, “*Expansion of Aligarh Movement Till 1947: Role of Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk and Sir Ziauddin*”, submitted by **Mr. Naiyer Azam** is the original research work of the candidate. The thesis is suitable for submission and award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History.

(Prof. B.L. Bhadani)
Supervisor

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.G.	Aligarh Institute Gazettee
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIMEC	All India Mohammedan Educational Conference
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
AP	Aligarh Papers
APH	Asian Publishing House
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
BP	Bilgrami Papers (Syed Hussain)
CFP	Chamsford Papers
CP	Curzon Papers
DPI	Director of Public Instructions
EP	Elgin Papers
HBP	Harcourt Butler Papers
IAR	Indian Annual Register
ICHR	Indian Council of Historical Research
ICS	Indian Civil Services
INC	Indian National Congress
JMI	Jamia Millia Islamia
JMP	James Meston Papers
MAO	Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College
MAP	Mohammad Ali Papers
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MEASI	Muhammadan Educational Association of South India

MLNP	Motilal Nehru Papers
MP	Mehrotra Papers
MWT	Mushidat Wa Tassurat
NAI	National Archives of India
NML	Nehru Museum Library
NP	Northbrook Papers
NWPEC	North Western Provinces Education Committee
SAB	Swaneh Abdullah Begum
SSA	Sir Syed Archives
SVNNWP	Selection from Vernacular Newspapers of North Western Provinces
TP	Tyabiji Paperss
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPNNR	United Provinces Native Newspapers
UPSR	Uttar Pradesh State Archives

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(Naiyer Azam)

INTRODUCTION

The personality, par excellence, that appeared among the Muslims in the post-mutiny India was that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. C.F. Andrews while describing the greatness about Sir Syed said: "In Sir Syed Ahmad I saw the grandeur, the lion like strength, the high ideals the passionate enthusiasm of a great mind. No Musalman, whom I ever met impressed me more by the force and dignity of his character, and his commanding intellectual greatness than Sir Syed Ahmad. Whenever he went, he naturally took the lead. His personality demanded it and men instinctively followed him. His very presence and appearance were commanding. He was a born leader of man". It was the greatness of Sir Syed that by his magnificent lead he rescued the Muslim community from wallowing slough of despond.

Sir Syed had already seen the horror of the great Revolt of 1857 and its result in the form of the total ruination of his community. The British took the Muslims solely responsible for the revolt and treated them very harshly, depriving them of all avenues of life and reducing them to extreme poverty. Since Sir Syed was close to British administration, he knew the British plans of crippling the Muslims, economically, educationally and politically. Sir Syed also knew that it was futile to resist a great power well-equipped in science and technology, while his community was still bent on opposing their new masters. Thus he was in a dilemma and had to fight both, his co-religionists and their immediate rulers.

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panacea of all the ills of the contemporary Muslim society after the victimization of Muslims in revolt of 1857 and for the same he established M.A.O. College at Aligarh with the help of his co-religionists and with the cooperation of the British government.

The establishment of M.A.O. College in 1877 at Aligarh was a unique phenomenon in the history of the Muslim education in India. Lord Lytton while laying the foundation of the College said, "It is an epoch in the social progress of India". Later Sir Hamilton Gibb characterized this College as "the first modernist institution in Islam". The main purpose of establishing MAO College was to popularize the western education among the Muslims and initiate an era of brisk activity to extricate the Muslim mind from the outmoded pattern of thought and behavior. As years rolled on it became a nucleus around which Muslim community of India gathered and started Aligarh Movement which made an effort to change the social condition of the Muslims and it also attempted to bring for adjustment with the time. It was establish to provide the best education of the time to the Muslim community with sole purpose to make them socially, educationally, economically at par with the other communities of the 19th century. Sir Syed's vigor efforts to bring about a change in Muslim attitude ushered in the dawn of an era of intellectual renaissance in 19th century.

Apart from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who was a pivot around whom the Aligarh Movement revolved, there were other brilliant, energetic and devoted men who contributed significantly to the Aligarh Movement. Some of them were: Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Moulvi Samiullah Khan, Syed Mahmud, Altaf Hussian Hali, Raja Jaikishan Das, Moulvi Zakaullah, Aga Khan, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin and Sheikh Abdullah. They created a profound influence and impact on the contemporary society. In fact, the system of education and the tradition of learning set by Sir Syed are intrinsic to Muslim education. Aligarh Movement during Sir Syed's period and the post Sir Syed period till 1947 left behind a rich legacy in the field of administration, education and politics specially due to the efforts of Mohsinul

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The successors of Sir Syed made significant contribution in the Aligarh Movement and worked tremendously on different issues of Muslim politics through the platform of Aligarh Movement but they differed with Sir Syed views in respect to his political thought, his views on female education, his views on political participation of Muslims, in the national politics of the country and the Muslim interests have been taken up for detailed study. The immediate successor of Sir Syed were Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk and their contribution in Aligarh movement forms the important phase of the Aligarh movement in 20th century focused and their struggle and achievements regarding the Muslim education, their political achievement and overall their views on certain aspects of the Muslim interest have been taken up for a detailed study here.

Muslim Intellectuals, Associates of Sir Syed and Vice Chancellors, and their views on the University Movement, which they had and the role they played in the Aligarh Movement were have also been discussed here.

A special attempt has been given to study the contribution of Shaikh Abdullah and his associates in providing modern education to Muslim women along with their contemporary women ideologues who worked for the Muslim female education at Aligarh and India in 20th century have also been studied here.

Another important aspect of Aligarh Movement was its impact on the different regions of India where the similar educational movements were launched to educate the Muslim community, for example Syed Imdad Ali and his Bihar Scientific Society which was established to impart the modern

education through vernacular languages has been taken up for a brief study. The aspect of providing modern education in Southern India which was a neglected region and little has been focused to study the expansion and impact of Aligarh Movement on this region in 20th century have been taken up for a brief study.

Objectives of the Study

This thesis proposes to study the following aspects and questions

1. How Sir Syed became a great social reformer of modern India, what were the factors which transformed him into a great social reformer of India?
2. How his personality was shaped by different factors particularly from the external influences of the reform movements of the contemporary world?
3. How his political ideas developed, in what conditions he gradually developed his political view and what made Sir Syed to care about the political concerns of his community's interest?
4. How was Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement carried out ahead by his successor in the first half of the 20th century?
5. Where did they deviate from Sir Syed on educational and political issues of Muslim community?
6. What was the contribution of Sir Syed's successor in the struggle for the University movement?
7. During the Aligarh Movement in the educational institution i.e. M.A.O.College established by Sir Syed, did only the elite class acquire education, whether education was open and was accessible to all the people or masses?
8. To what extent Aligarh Movement dealt the problem of Muslim education and how it provided education for the masses?

9. One of the aims is also to study a gender specific issue, i.e. women's education in 20th century. It is also important to inquire whether Muslim women were empowered to educate themselves.
10. This study also proposes to analyze the contemporary politics in India and the Aligarh Movement. Did both have a vice-versa response?
11. This thesis also examines the impact of Aligarh Movement in India. What was the impact of the Aligarh Movement in other regions of India?
12. Another purpose is to understand whether the Aligarh movement during the period under review had a positive impact on the socio-cultural status of the Muslims in the Indian sub-continent.
13. What was the contribution of modern education to raise the status of Muslim community?

Therefore the present thesis entitled **“Expansion of Aligarh Movement till 1947: Role of Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk and Sir Ziauddin”** attempts to study those aspects of Aligarh Movement during the period of Sir Syed and in the post Sir Syed period which are not focused properly or not given due importance.

Thus the thesis has been divided into seven chapters.

CHAPTER – I

SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN: A PIONEER OF ALIGARH MOVEMENT

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the condition and factors which made Sir Syed a great social reformer of Muslim community. What were the various factors which shaped the personality of Sir Syed and to what extent Sir Syed was influenced by these factors focused here. An attempt is also made to highlight Sir Syed's Aligarh movement in broader aspects. In what condition Sir Syed launched his movement for the regeneration of the

Muslim community and why he launched his movement ?. What were the aims of his movement in 19th century India, and to what extent his Aligarh movement was different from the other contemporary movements of India are focused here. An attempt is also made to understand Sir Syed's views on the different issues have been focused in details. Attempt is also made to understand his views about Congress, his discourses on female education, his secular approach in educational and political matters. Whether Sir Syed was a Champion of Hindu-Muslim unity or he worked for only the Muslim community? And to what extent his movement was Muslim centric or purely communal in approach, have been critically discussed after the close examination of his writings, speeches and letters.

CHAPTER – II

POST SIR SYED ALIGARH AND NAWAB MOHSINUL MULK

The second chapter covers the period of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and his struggle and activities for the development of Muslim community which he had taken through Aligarh movement have been taken up in this chapter. To what extent he differed on various issues of Muslim concerns with Sir Syed and how he followed the footsteps of Sir Syed in certain issue of Muslim community and on Muslim British relationship form the theme of this chapter. The role of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk in the Aligarh Movement particularly his educational concern of his community for which he worked enthusiastically after the death of Sir Syed has been analyzed in this chapter. And how he was able to carry Sir Syed's dream to establish a University for the Muslims community at Aligarh, for which he launched his movement to collect the funds for the establishment of Muslim University have been discussed. The role he played to make the Aligarh Movement an all India Movement through the vehicle of All India Muslim Educational Conference and his attempt to make Muslims aware about their educational needs by organizing its session at the different corners of India to exhort the Muslims towards the modern education also have been

analyzed here. The political concerns of the Muslim community e.g. the Urdu-Hindi controversy which was raised by Hindu community and the British government and subsequent involvement of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who highlighted the Muslim anxiety regarding the political interest of his community is also discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER– III

NAWAB VIQARUL MULK AND ALIGARH MOVEMENT

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the political achievements of Nawab Viqarul Mulk became the first Muslim leader after Sir Syed and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who vigorously taken up the cause of Muslim concerns and raised the anxiety of Muslim community to the British Government over the issue of Hindi-Urdu controversy in 20th century. A study of his biographical as well as his contribution which he made through the Aligarh Movement in the 20th century will provide an insight into his greater concerns for his community. The educational and political consciousness of Nawab Viqarul Mulk and his achievements in this concern in the 20th century form the theme of this chapter.

CHAPTER – IV

SIR SYED’S ASSOCIATES AND MUSLIM INTELLECTUALS

The fourth chapter deals with Muslim intellectuals, the contemporaries of Sir Syed and the successive Vice Chancellors of Aligarh Muslim University and their role in shaping the Aligarh Movement in different ways have been discussed critically in this chapter. And how successors of Sir Syed differed in their views with British government on the question of proposed Muslim university after the death of Sir Syed and to what terms and conditions they wanted to get the Muslim University from the British government and their achievement to get the Act of 1920 form the theme of this chapter. The views of the Muslims community represented by Muslim intellectuals and some

Indian leaders regarding the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University and the conditions on which they wanted their institution to be a unique one for which they struggled to get it from the British government also have been focused in this chapter.

CHAPTER– V

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AND NATIONAL POLITICS

In the fifth chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the contemporary politics of India and its impact on the Aligarh Movement vice-versa from 1913 to 1947 i.e. after the resignation of Nawab Viqarul Mulk to the post of Honorary Secretaryship of the M.A.O. College till the partition of India. How the Aligarh leaders and the Muslim community able to get a Muslim university which was a cherished dream of Sir Syed was discussed here. An attempt is also made to analyze the development of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement from the Aligarh leaders and their subsequent role in creation of a separate national University at Aligarh also discussed here. In this chapter an attempt is also made to analyze the nationalist and separatist trend which developed in the University and to what extent they played their role in the politics of the country in the first half of the 20th century has also been discussed here

CHAPTER- VI

DR. SIR ZIAUDDIN AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO ALIGARH MOVEMENT

In this chapter an attempt has been made to high light the personality of Dr. Sir Ziauddin and his contribution to the development of Aligarh Movement in 20th century. An attempt is also made to analyze his role in the in the expansion of the MAO College into a University. Focus has also been given to assess his role during the Non Cooperation and Partition Movement in the 20th century.

CHAPTER – VII

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AND MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the discourses on Muslim women by Sir Syed and his Associates and to what extent they were concerned to provide traditional and modern education to Muslim women in 19th century. This chapter also focuses the contribution Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his Associates for the development of modern education to the Muslim women through the platform of Aligarh Movement in 20th century. An attempt is made to study the women discourses and his revolutionary ideas related to the gender issues along with his other women ideologues and to what extent he was differed with Sir Syed views regarding women education have also been focused here.

CHAPTER – VIII

ALIGARH MOVEMENT: IMPACT AND EXPANSION

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the impact of Aligarh Movement on the contemporary movements of India. An attempt is also made to investigate the nature of other contemporary movements and to what extent these were different from Aligarh Movement. Attempt is also made to know the impact and expansion of Aligarh Movement on the other regions of the Indian sub- continent during 20th century.

Review of the Primary Sources

For the present study and the Aligarh Movement and its originator Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, there is no dearth of original materials. Most of the original sources are available at Maulana Azad Library and Sir Syed Academy Aligarh. Major parts of the writings, speeches and letters of Sir Syed, used in this study have been published. The published works of Yusuf Hussain entitled, '*Selected Documents from the Aligarh Archives*' and the work of Shan Mohammad who edited the Basic Documents of Aligarh Movement entitled '*The Aligarh*

Movement : Basic Documents, in 3 vol. The other archival materials which are in the process of publication also contain little unpublished material which classified here as '*Aligarh Papers*', found very useful for the present study. The other original source material written by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan particularly *Serat-i-Faridiya* and *Hayat-e-Javed* written by Maulana Hali are useful for the present study. The most reliable and original source of information on Sir Syed's life and activities is the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* started by him in 1866 as an organ of the *Scientific Society* and which continued to be published till 1898 under his own editorship and it is still continued under the aegis of *Aligarh Muslim University*. *Aligarh Magazines* published in the Aligarh Muslim University from its inception are found useful in the present study. Some of its special issues contain important facts and figures about Aligarh Movement. For the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University, the published Educational Documents from the Government of India and other records of the Government of India and the North-West Provinces found very useful. The name may be mentioned of the work of S.C. Ghosh who edited, *Development of University Education, (1916-20) Selection from the Educational Records of Government of India, New Series* and the four volumes of Educational Records i.e. *Selections from Educational Reports (1781-1839)* edited by Henry Sharp and the work of J.A. Richey who edited the *Selections from Educational Records (1840-59)* and the most important work on Educational Record edited by J.P. Naik i.e. *Selections from the Educational Records of Governments of India, vol. II, Development of University Education (1860-87)* have been found useful for the present study.

The documents of *Muslim League* found useful for the present study. The different newspapers and weeklies like *Comrade*, *Muslim Chronicles*, *Al-Basheer* related to the Aligarh Movement provided variety of information regarding the attitude of the public and the press towards the proposed university at Aligarh.

The *Private Papers* of several Indians and the British Statements, Viceroys, Lieutenant Governors, Muslim leaders which are used here as it contain plenty of materials pertaining to the establishment of the A.M.U., which remained either untapped or used to a limited extent for example there are papers of Badruddin Tyabji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Lord Mayo, Northbrook, Elgin, Minto, Morley, Curzon, Hewett, Butler and other papers like Syed Husain Bilgrami, Dr. Syed Mahmud, etc. In addition to these unpublished private papers, this study has also made the use of published papers of M.A. Ansari, Nawab Abdul Lateef and Ali brothers.

The other important materials which contain information on the post Sir Syed Aligarh era are in Urdu which are used here immensely, includes the work of Mohammad Amin Zubairi, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani etc. Thus the materials which are easily accessible from Aligarh Archives, Aligarh, National Archives of India and Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi have been used in this study.

Review of the Secondary Sources

There is no scarcity of scholarly studies on the history of Muslim politics in the 19th and 20th century. The present thesis as proposes to study the Aligarh Movement, its expansion in 20th century and its impact on the Muslim politics on the first half of the 20th century for which the work of Peter Hardy entitled '*The Muslims of British India*' is an informative book and which focuses on the Muslim politics of the British India. The works of Francis Robinson has dealt in a great detail about the Muslim politics in North-Western Provinces during 19th century and the first quarter of 20th century encompass the above topics particularly on Aligarh Movement and Muslim politics in 19th century. But the works on the Aligarh Movement and its leadership as provided by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his successors in the 19th century and in the 20th century covered by several authors and historians. The works of G.F.I. Graham entitled, *Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan* which brought out in 1885 deals with the life and activities of Sir Syed. The same work was brought up by Maulana

Hali in Urdu entitled *Hayat-e-Javed* in 1901 which greatly dealt with Sir Syed life and his Aligarh Movement and is immensely used by scholars and authors. The works of M.S. Jain entitled *The Aligarh Movement 1858-1906 : Its Origin and Development* which focused on the Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed and the communal perspective of Sir Syed movement without examining the original writing and speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. While the works of Shan Mohammad entitled *'A Political biography of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan'* which dealt in great detail the Sir Syed Movement and its approach as a secular in nature and he portrait Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as the champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. The work of David Lelyveld entitled *'Aligarh First Generation and the Muslim solidarity in British India'* represented the history of 25 years of the existence of M.A.O. College and the socio-political and educational activities of the Aligarh students and their relations with the teachers and their political involvement with the British government.

This brief review of the major studies on Aligarh shows that while the educational ideas of Sir Syed and his role in establishing the M.A.O. College, as the nucleus of the future university have been well examined in the present study but the question arises why he failed to raise the College to the status of a full-fledged university, notwithstanding his deep desire for it has yet to be studied. Did Sir Syed or any of his colleague or contemporaries make any effort to expand the College into a university during 1875-1898? if so, how? and if not; why not? An examination of these issues not covered in the earlier studies cannot be ignored for tracing the evolution of the historic character of A.M.U.

The story of the expansion of the College into a University after the death of Sir Syed in 1898 forms the theme of only two minor studies. While in a brief but brilliant article, Minault and Lelyveld made an attempt to focus on the campaign of the colleagues and the contemporaries of Sir Syed for the collection of funds and drafting of the constitution for the proposed university. Aparna Basu in a scholarly but short section of her work on *'The Growth of*

Education and Political Development in India 1898-1920 tried to highlight how the various political factors affect the scheme. Though to a great extent Minault and Lelyveld and to a limited extent Basu, did throw light on the ideas of the intellectuals and the officials regarding the Muslim university, they have refrained from examining whether the contemporaries and successors of Sir Syed differed from his basic educational ideas and if so, in what respects and why and how far the ideas of the latter influenced the character of the contemplated university? These questions are essential for a clear understanding of the character of the university will be taken up in the present study.

Dr. Rahmani Begum's work entitled "*Sir Syed Ahmad and the Politics of Educational Reform*" is much confined to Sir Syed's educational movement and his political achievement up to his death. Prof. K.A. Nizami works includes the *History of M.A.O. College* and almost his biography up to the establishment of university in 1920.

Though much work has been done on the educational aspects of Aligarh Movement but its impact on the southern India and the Rajputana regions has not been focused. A detailed study on the educational activities on the southern India and Rajputana in 20th century would give a new dimension to the Aligarh Movement.

Hence, by making use of a good deal of untapped primary sources which are not consulted by the others particularly the *Private Papers* of the leaders of Aligarh Movement available at National Archives and Nehru Memorial Museum Library in Delhi, here an honest attempt is made to see the Aligarh Movement in a new direction in 20th century.

Therefore, in the present thesis an attempt has been made to discuss the Sir Syed's views on the different issue of his community particularly through the Aligarh Movement and also to focus the struggles and activities of his successors of Sir Syed who took Sir Syed movement ahead in the 20th century.

Even focus has been given to those aspects of Aligarh Movement which either left out or not focused properly. I believe that by dealing with these aspects, this study will bring out new facts about Aligarh Movement and would also give new direction and dimension to the ever expanding Aligarh Movement.

CHAPTER - I

**SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN: A PIONEER
OF
ALIGARH MOVEMENT**



**Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
(1817-1898)
Founder of the Aligarh Movement**

CHAPTER – I

SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN: A PIONEER OF ALIGARH MOVEMENT

The nineteenth century of the Christian era forms a watershed in the annals of the Muslim world. The contemporary Muslim society, sunk as it was in obscurantism, inertia and frustration, was helpless to struggle out of its medieval grooves and it lacked the *elan* to respond to the challenges posed by the scientific developments of the West. A number of Muslim savants and reformers – like Midhat Pasha and Fu'ad Pasha in Turkey, Hujjat-ul-Islam Shaikh Hadi Najmabadi in Iran, Mustafa Kamil in Egypt, Khairuddin Pasha in Tunis, Amir Abdul Qadir in Algeria, the followers of Maulana Abdul Wahhab in Nejd, Imam Muhammad bin Sanusi in Tripoli, Syed Jamaluddin Afghanistan, Mufti Alamjan in Russia and Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India – launched movements for the moral and intellectual rejuvenation of Muslim society. Their efforts ultimately crystallized into three distinct reactions to the situation. Some thought that the only panacea to these ills lay in a hark-back to the old values of religion through which alone the socio-political system could be resuscitated in consonance with the traditions of early Islam. Others thought it that the remedy did not lie in religious revival but in total acceptance of the Western values and concepts. There was a third-school of thought which struck a balance between these two extreme approaches and advocated acceptance of Western education and science while jealously guarding their religious and intellectual identity.¹

The center of revolutionary activities of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was Aligarh. The present district of Aligarh (in the state of U.P.) is situated in the middle portion of the Doab, or the land between the Ganga and Yamuna rivers. The Aligarh district is confined between 27°29' and 28°11' latitude North and

¹ Cited from K.A. Nizami's 'Foreword' to English translation of Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali's *Hayat-e-Javed*, by K.H. Qadri and David J. Mathews, Delhi: Idarah-e-Adabiyat-e-Delhi, 1979, p. v (Hereafter A.H. Hali).

77°22' and 78°39' longitude East.² The principal town in the Aligarh district for the last many centuries has been its headquartering. The town of Aligarh is 126 kms south-east of Delhi and 75 kms north of Agra.³ Aligarh occupies an important place in the modern Indian history and became a significant place of intellectual, social, religious, educational and political center for the regeneration of the Muslim community from where the Aligarh Movement⁴ originated after the name of Aligarh town, happened to be the center of all activities of Muslim regeneration during 19th century.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the condition and factors which made Sir Syed a great social reformer of Muslim community. What were the various factors which shaped the personality of Sir Syed and to what extent Sir Syed was influenced by these factors focused here. An attempt is also made to highlight Sir Syed's Aligarh movement in broader aspects. In what condition Sir Syed launched his movement for the regeneration of the Muslim community and why he launched his movement ?, What were the aims of his movement in 19th century India, and to what extent his Aligarh movement was different from the other contemporary movements of India are focused here. An attempt is also made to understand Sir Syed's views on the different issues have been focused in details. Attempt is also made to understand his views about Congress, his discourses on female education, his secular approach in educational and political matters. Whether Sir Syed was a Champion of Hindu-Muslim unity or he worked for only the Muslim community? And to what extent his movement was Muslim centric or purely communal in approach, have been critically discussed after the close examination of his writings, speeches and letters.

². Edwin T. Atkinson, *Statistical Descriptions and Historical Accounts of North-Western Provinces of India*, Allahabad, 1875, vol. II, Part I, p. 346.

³. J.M. Siddiqui, *Aligarh District: A Historical Survey (from Ancient time to 1803 A.D.)*, Munshiram Manohar Lal, 1981, New Delhi, p. 1.

⁴. For details see, Aziz Ahmad and G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Muslims Self-Statement in India and Pakistan, 1857-1968*, Wiesbaden: Ho Harrassowitz, 1970; Yusuf Hussain (ed.), *Selected Documents from the Aligarh Archives*, Preface, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967; R. Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1975.

[A] Biographical Sketch of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born in Delhi on 17th October 1817. He belonged to an aristocratic family of 18th century Delhi which had close relations with Mughal court. Sir Syed's ancestors, from both sides i.e. maternal and paternal had acquired great prominences in the religious as well as worldly life. His paternal ancestors originally came from Herat (Central-Asia) during the reign of the Mughal emperor, Shahjahan (1628-1657). After their arrival in India up to the reign of Akbar II (1805-1837) they were conferred royal titles. In the reign of Alamgir II (1755-1759) Sir Syed's grandfather Syed Hadi was awarded the title *Jawad ud Doula Jawad Ali Khan*, and the rank of Commander of 1,000 foot and 500 horsemen. Syed Mehdi, brother of Sir Syed's grandfather was awarded the title of *Qubbad Ali Khan*, made Commander of 1000 foot and 500 horsemen, and was appointed to the post of *Qazi* and *Muhtasib* (a quasi-religious, quasi-judicial post).⁵ Sir Syed's maternal grandfather Khawaja Farid-ud-Din was the Prime Minister of Mughal Emperor Akbar II and was awarded the title of *Nawab Dabir-ud-Daula Aminul Mulk Khawaja Fareed ud Din Khan Bahadur Mushleh Jang*. He served Mughal court with dignity and power and earned great respect and titles from Mughal court. He had so profound impact that Sir Syed wrote small treatise on his life and his achievements i.e. *Serat-i-Faridiya*.⁶ Sir Syed's father Mir Muttaqi had a very close and intimate relations with Akbar II, and the post of Prime Minister was earlier offered to him, but he suggested it to his father in law Khawaja Farid ud Din who served

⁵ See Sir Syed, *Serat-i-Faridiya*, Mufid-i-Am Press Agra 1896, p.24. Also see, Rahmani Begum, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan : The Politics of Educational Reform*, Vanguard Books Ltd. Lahore, 1985, p. 29. (Hereafter Rahmani Begum).

⁶ *Serat-i-Faridiya*: The work was originally published with full titles of the author Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Dr. Sayyid Ahmad Khan Bahadur Maslih Jang, I.L.L.D.K.C.S.I. Maurusi Khitab Shahi Jawwad uddaula Sayyid Ahmad Khan Bahadur Arif Jung), *Sirat-i-Faridiya yani halat-i-zindagi Nawab Dabir uddaulah Amin al-Mulk Khawaja Fariduddin Ahmad Khan Wazir Abu Nasr Muinuddin Muhammad Akbar Shah Sani*, Pub. Waqar Ali Khan Sufi Mufid-Am Press, Agra, 1896. It has also been published from Karachi, 1964. The same was reprinted in Ismail Panipati (ed.) *Maqalat-i-Sir Sayyid*, Lahore, Majlis-i-taraqqi-i-adab, 1965, vol. XVI, p. 634-695. It has also been translated into English. Christopher Shackle, English Translation of Sir Sayyid Ahmad's "Serat-e-Faridiya", *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Quarterly, Vol. 46, Number 4, 1972, pp. 307-336. Hereafter the references are made of English translation of *Serat-e-Faridiya* by Shackle. (Hereafter Sir Syed Ahmad, *Serat-e-Faridiya*).

the British Government and at that time was in the court of Ava in Burma as a political agent of British Government and by that time had returned from Ava and accepted the post of Prime Minister.⁷

Sir Syed was the youngest of the three children⁸ of Syed Muhammad Muttaqi (d. 1838) and Azizunnisa Begum (d. 1857)⁹ and his lineage goes back to Hazarat Hussain, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 36th generation.¹⁰ At Sir Syed's birth his father requested Shah Ghulam Ali to name his son. Shah Ghulam Ali named the elder son of Syed Muttaqi as Syed Muhammad and the younger one as Syed Ahmad. Sir Syed was brought up by a lady named Man Bibi, who had been a maid servant in the family of Sir Syed for a long time and Sir Syed loved her very much and when he was five years old she died.¹¹ Sir Syed received his early and traditional education with the inception of his *Bismillah* ceremony, which was performed by Shah Ghulam Ali, and after it Sir Syed started to read the *Quran*. His family at maternal home arranged a respectable and *Purdah* observing lady to teach Sir Syed the holy scriptures of the *Quran* and elementary Persian. After reading the *Quran*, he started attending a school also and later Moulvi Hamiduddin taught him. Sir Syed also studied Mathematics from his maternal uncle Zainul Abedin. He also studied medicine with Ghulam Haider Khan who was a physician of

⁷ Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali, *Hayat-i-Jawed*, English translation, Part I and II by Rafi Ahmad Alvi, A.M.U. Press, 2008, p. 12 (Hereafter Hali).

⁸ Sir Syed had an elder brother Syed Muhammad Khan, who was *Munsif* at Hatgam in the district of Fatehpur and who died in 1845. Sir Syed also had an elder sister Safiyat un Nisa Begum who died in 1892.

⁹ Hali, op.cit., p. 15-18.

¹⁰ The following epitaph is engraved on the stone plate of Sir Syed's grave showing his lineage from Hazarat Hussain:

(1) Muhammad (SAW)(2) Fatma Zahra, + Amir-ul-Momineen Ali Ibn Abu Talib, (3) Imam Hussain, (4) Imam Zainul Abedin, (5) Imam Muhammad Baqar, (6) Imam Jaffar Sadiq, (7) Imam Musa Kazim, (8) Imam Ali Musa Riraj (9) Imam Muhammad Taqi, (10) Syed Musa Meer Raqi, (11) Syed Abi Abdullah Ahmad, (12) Syed Muhammad Araj, (13) Syed Muhammad Ahmed(14) Syed Ahmed(15)Syed Musa(16)Syed Ahmed(17) Syed Muhammad, (18) Syed Ali, (19) Syed Jaffar, (20) Syed Muhammad, (21) Syed Isa, (22) Syed Abul Fateh, (23) Syed Ali, (24) Syed Yar Hussian, (25) Syed Kazimuddin Hussian, (26) Syed Jaffar, (27) Syed Baqar, (28) Syed Musa, (29) Syed Sherfuddin Hussian, (30) Syed Ibrahim, (31) Syed Hafiz Ahmad, (32) Syed Aziz, (33) Syed Muhammad Dost, (34) Syed Burhan, (35) Syed Muhammad Imad, (36) Syed Muhammad Hadi, (37) Syed Muhammad Muttaqi, and (38) Syed Ahmad.

Also see, appendix of *Khutbat-e-Ahmadia*, Vol. II.

¹¹ Hali, op.cit., p. 16.

considerable note. During the age of 18 or 19 Sir Syed got opportunity to meet the learned men of Delhi particularly the poets of Delhi viz. Sahbai, Ghalib, and Azurda and even Sir Syed participated in the meetings of the learned society of Delhi.¹²

After the death of his father Sir Syed joined the British East India Company's service much against the wishes of his family in 1838 A.D. because whatever his father had been drawing salary from various sources from the royal court were stopped with the death of his father, only a small amount in the name of his mother continued to be received, and all sources to his father's income were closed. Even some revenue free grants which were for the life time of his father were also withdrawn. Sir Syed's maternal uncle Maulvi Khalilullah Khan who was posted as *Sadre Ameen* of Delhi who got appointed Sir Syed in his court as *Sareshtadar* for minor criminal cases. Later on he was appointed as *Sareshtadar* of Session Court by Sir Robert Hamilton, but considering this work difficult Sir Syed continued to work in the court of *Sadre Ameen*. In 1839 Sir Syed became *Naib Munshi* (deputy reader) to the office of the Commissioner of Sir Robert Hamilton in Agra and here he learnt the laws related to the revenue and prepared a manual for the procedure of work in that office. In December 1841, he was appointed as *Munsif* at Mainpuri and from there he was transferred to Fatehpur Sikri in 1842 and same year he came to Delhi, where he was honoured by the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar with the hereditary title of *Jawad-ud-Doula Arif Jang*.¹³

While he was in the service of British Government he started his literary career and wrote a booklet, *Jam-e-Jam* containing a history of forty three kings from Tuman, the first Mughal ruler of Central Asia down to Bahadur Shah Zafar II, the last of the Mughal ruler in India. Then he prepared a summary of the rules and regulations prescribed in the civil courts entitled *Intekhabul Akhwain* which was introduced to help the new entrants to the judicial services.

¹². Ibid., pp. 17-18.

¹³. Ibid. p. 21, 22.

And the most commendable and scholarly work produced by Sir Syed was *Asar-us-Sanadi*¹⁴, which made him known even in the European countries. With this masterly work, Sir Syed was introduced to the European countries and was made a fellow of the *Royal Asiatic Society* and thus Sir Syed became a scholarly person not only in Indian sub-continent but also in European society.¹⁵ In 1855 Sir Syed was transferred from Rohtak to Bijnore where he stayed till the outbreak of revolt of 1857 which changed Sir Syed's life totally. Maulana Hali records the changed life of Sir Syed due to revolt of 1857 as follows:

"After the Revolt I was grieved neither on account of the plunder of my house nor the loss of property that I had suffered. What shocked me was the misery and destruction of the people... When Mr. Shakespeare offered to me a *taluqa* of Jahanabad which originally belonged to a distinguished Syed family which yielded an annual income of more than lac rupees, as a reward for my services, my heart was deeply hurt. I said to myself, how I can accept this Jagir when all my people are in a miserable state. I declined to accept it and said that I no longer wish to stay in India. I could never think that the people would be able to retrieve their bygone prestige and status. The condition of the people at that time was extremely deplorable. For some days I was under the spell of grief. Believe me this grief had disheartened me and turned my hair grey. When, I came to Moradabad, a town full of sad memories of the destruction of our aristocracy, my grief increased all the more. But at that time, I thought that it would be extremely unmanly and cowardly on my part to find refuge in some safe corner and leave the people helpless and in distress. No! I should share their distress and strive hard to avert the calamity by lifting up their hearts. I gave up the idea of migrating and chose to work for my people".¹⁶

¹⁴ . Sayyid Ahmad Khan's "*Asar us-Sanadi*" is a scholarly work written in 1847. It is about the monuments of Delhi written by the pen of a mature author. The English title of the same book was *Asar us-Sanadi Asar oosunnadeed, A History of the Old and New Rules: or Governments, And of old and new buildings in the District of Delhi* and was composed by Syed Ahmad Khan Moonsiff of the First Grade in Delhi and was printed in 1854. The French translation of the *Asar al-Sanadi* (1854) was carried out by J.H. Garcin de Tassy as '*Description des monuments de Dlehi après le texte Hindoustani de Saiyid Ahmad Khan*'. Another edition of the same translation in one volume was published from Paris Imprimerie Imperiale in 1861.

¹⁵ . The celebrated work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us Sanadi*, also won him the Honorary Membership of the Delhi Archaeological Society, established in Delhi for the Indo-Archaeological Research.

¹⁶ . Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali, *Hayat-e-Javed* (Academy Punjab, Lahore, 1957), p. 136-139, hereafter, it will be quoted as *Hayat-e-Javed*

Thus Sir Syed decided to stay back in India and to work for the betterment of the Muslim society that had reduced to the lowest rank of the Indian society due to victimization of taking part in the revolt of 1857 against the British Government and subsequent treatment meted out by the British government which made them deplorable.

[B] Influences and Impression on the Life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

There were various factors which motivated intellectuals like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to look into the affairs of his Muslim community. There were certain social conditions which shaped the personality of Sir Syed; the influences of his close relatives and experiences of his youth, his early upbringing, his family relations with the Mughal court and the childhood experiences of Sir Syed, and even the impressions of British officials played an important role in shaping the personality of Sir Syed. A close examination of these aspects may possibly provide a better understanding of the life and activities of Sir Syed, who influenced the history of modern India in a decisive manner.

The dominant factor which had deepest impact on the personality of Sir Syed was his family background. The fact that Sir Syed grew up in a family where members of his family especially his maternal grandfather had very close connections and contacts both with Mughals as well as the British officials. His maternal grandfather had held diplomatic¹⁷ and administrative¹⁸ assignments under the East India Company before taking up the post of Prime Minister at Mughal Court.¹⁹ He had developed very close relation with British officers like General Martin, Gore Ousley and especially with General David

¹⁷ . He was sent as an envoy of Marquis Wellesley to Persia and Ava in 1779. For details see, G.F.I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, C.S.I., Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1885; Reprint Edition, Delhi: Idar-e-Adabiyat, 1975. (Hereafter G.F.I. Graham)

¹⁸ . He served as the Superintendent of *Calcutta Madrasah* in 1791 and *Tehsildar* of Agra and Bundelkhand later in 1803. A.H. Hali, op.cit. p., G.F.I. Graham, *loc.cit.*, p.2.

¹⁹ . He was the Prime Minister in the court of Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah II (1805-1837).

Ochterlony²⁰ who used to visit him often.²¹ The visit of David Ochterlony to his grandfather might have possibly given that younger Sir Syed an opportunity to acquaint and perhaps appreciate the British culture from a close angle²², his friendly interaction with his grandfather should have left an everlasting impression of goodwill towards the British on the mind of young Sir Syed who was of 5 or 6 years old, and this would have played an important role in shaping his non-prejudicial attitude towards the British and association of his grandfather with the British officials, which might have served as a model to Sir Syed and encouraged him to form a loyal relationships with them, which he did at a later stage.

The influence and impression of his maternal grandfather was quite natural²³ as Sir Syed spent his childhood with him, on the other hand Sir Syed's grandfather being a statesman and a distinguished scholar of Mathematics and Astronomy²⁴ showed more interest and concern in bringing up Sir Syed as a disciplined but dignified man. Not only did Sir Syed learnt about manners and etiquettes from his grandfather²⁵ but he also got an opportunity of improving

²⁰ . He was the Resident of Delhi in (1803-1806).

²¹ . Sir Syed had recorded that an elegant armchair upholstered in red velvet for the exclusive use of General was specially kept in his grandfather's residence. The fact that special chair was kept for the Resident, when Khawaja Farid, the Prime Minister rested on carpet shows not only the esteem with which he treated the Resident but also leads us to believe that the Resident was a regular visitor. Sir Syed Ahmad, *Sirat-i-Faridiya*, p. 322.

²² . We get the idea of an informal relationship of General Ochterlony with the family of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Sir Syed's observation of English dress and manners. To quote Sir Syed : One day when General Ochterlony had come, the present author happened to go there for some reason but seeing the General started to leave, but the General called him back and said something. Then the author asked the General who was in full uniform: "Why have you got feather's on your hat and a double row of buttons on your coat?". The General was much amused by this question and smiled without saying anything. See for details, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Serat-e-Faridiya*, p. 322.

²³ . Sir Syed's maternal grandfather's influence was so profound on him that he wrote a monograph (*Serat-e-Faridiya*) about him in 1896. Sir Syed's biographer believes that he was considerably influenced by his grandfather. See A.H. Hali, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

²⁴ . Sir Syed's maternal grandfather wrote many books, '*Tuhfa-i-Nu-Maniya*' which deals with astronomy was famous. Most of books were lost in 1857 rebellion. See, A.H. Hali, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

²⁵ . Sir Syed has given a number of instances where he learnt various manners to be observed at the dining table and on other occasions at home. See, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Serat-e-Faridiya*, pp.325-26.

his knowledge regarding various subjects by reading his books collected by the old man who was a voracious reader.²⁶

Mir Muttaqi, Sir Syed's father also had his share in shaping the personality of Sir Syed. He was a prototype of 19th century upper class Muslim who took pride in tracing his genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad²⁷ and pleasant in preaching and practicing the *Sufism* as we get details about the mystical heritage of Sir Syed through the *Serat-i-Faridiya* by Sir Syed.²⁸ Two of Sir Syed's maternal grandfathers were mystics as information contained in *Serat-i-Faridiya*. His father also connected with the family of the *Naqshbandi* Mujaddadi saint Khawaja Mir Dard on his mother side. Sir Syed's father as well as his mother was disciples of Khawaja Najib ud Din (d. 1843) who was a *Rasulshahi faqir* at an early age and was popularly known as Mabidullah (the adored of God). *Rasulshahi* was a new branch of *Suhrawardi* order comprising the followers of *Rasulshahi*, the ecstatic *Sufis*. Another uncle of Azizunnisa, Khawja Alauddin (d. 1855) was an adherent of Mujaddadi for whom Sir Syed wrote: "though he was married and had a family, he spent his whole life in *gosha nashini* (seclusion) in remembering God".²⁹ The mystic relation of his family with the *Naqshbandi* sufi order of the time might have had its influences on shaping the religious outlook of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Sir Syed spent most of his time at his maternal grandfather's home and remained there with the other maternal uncles, aunts and with his mother while his father passed his time on hobbies like kite flying, archery and swimming.³⁰

²⁶ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Serat-e-Faridiya*, pp. 324.

²⁷ His leniage can be traced back through 36 generations to the Holy Prophet. His ancestors originally belonged to Herat. They migrated to India during the reign of Akbar (1556 to 1605) and joined Mughal Services. See A.H. Hali, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

²⁸ He was a disciple of the famous sufi saint of Naqshbandi order, Shah Ghulam Ali (1743-1822). See A.H. Hali, p. 3.

²⁹ Gulfishan Khan, Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Representations of Sufi Life of Shahjahanabad (Delhi): Asar us Sanadid, *Indian Historical Review*, ICHR, 2009, p. 88 (Hereafter Gulfishan Khan, *Sufi Life of Shahjahanabad*).

³⁰ Mir Muttaqi had distinguished himself as an expert in archery and used to train the children of Mughals in swimming. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Serat-e-Faridiya*, *op.cit.*, p. 329.

Despite his close acquaintance with the Mughal emperor³¹ and his disinclination to take up the post of Prime Minister³², he preferred to remain aloof from power. Sir Syed's father left little impression on his youngest son³³, because he spent most of his time in the company of Sufi saints. In short we can say the paternal influences provided Sir Syed with an all important social link and Sir Syed being a Syed (belonging to the Prophet's lineage) that provides status in Muslim society and his personal access to the royal court, as being the son of the Emperor's close friend and above all, his spiritual conditioning as the son of an intensely religious father with the Sufi bent of mind³⁴, all had different impressions on Sir Syed's life. Sir Syed got the religious atmosphere from his father and mother side and on the other hand learnt the etiquettes and manners from his grandfather, which made Sir Syed an aristocratic in nature and who imbibed the culture and tradition of the royal court.

But the most lasting impact on Sir Syed was his mother Azizunnisa Begum, as Sir Syed himself testifies about his mother, as an embodiment of virtues of piety (*taqwa*), generosity, forgiveness, self- denial and complete trust in God (*takkawal*), human virtues and hallmark of mysticism.³⁵

Sir Syed was guided on many occasions by his mother for example once Sir Syed when gave his mother costly medicine for her cure of sickness, but his mother offered it to a poor woman who was suffering from the same disease and both of them cured and recovered from the diseases. it was lesson of being kindness to other which she gave to Sir Syed. And on one occasion when Sir

³¹. He had known Akbar II, the emperor from his childhood and he had free access to the private apartment and permission to sit in his presence when the other nobles kept standing. The emperor used to address him as "brother Muttaqi". For details, see Ibid. p. 319.

³². He suggested the post of Prime Minister to the emperor for his father in law, as stating his inability to take up the post for himself. Ibid., p. 319.

³³. As Sir Syed had devoted more pages to his grandfather and mother than to his father in *Sirat-i-Faridiya* which goes to prove that he was impressed less by his father.

³⁴. S.Y. Shah, *Higher Education and Politics in Colonial India: A Study of Aligarh Muslim University (1875-1920)*, Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, 1996, p. 9. (Hereafter S.Y. Shah)

³⁵. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*, Ed. By Muhammad Ismail Panipati, 16 vols, Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqqi Adab, 1962-65, pp. 27-28 (Hereafter *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*).

Syed got an opportunity to take revenge upon an ungrateful but wicked friend. his mother persuaded him to forgive the enemy, which he obeyed. Yet at another occasion when Sir Syed was eleven years old, he slapped an old servant of his family and when his mother came to know that, she became unhappy and asked him to leave the house. However, he was permitted to enter the house only after apologizing to the old servant.³⁶ Also being the youngest son of his father, Sir Syed received special attention and affection from his mother which to some extent played an important part in shaping his personality. Sir Syed describes his mother in *Serat-i-Faridya* as follows:

“Azizunnisa Begum was a lady of great ability and intelligence, of a naturally elevated cast of mind. She had read the *Quran* and some elementary Persian books... I myself had some lessons on the *Gulistan* from her, and recited my lesson on many of the elementary Persian books to him... She used to keep by her a scourge consisting of three thongs of plated thread and a wooden handle; to chastise me with; but although she must surely have got angry with me on many occasions; I was never beaten with those rope thongs”.³⁷

In this way Sir Syed had deep impact of his mother's tender caring and strict disciplinarian attitude which made Sir Syed a more disciplined person in life and with this impression of her mother on Sir Syed his personality was shaped in different ways. The impression of his mother also played a significant role in making Sir Syed great social reformers of Modern India.

(C) Socio-Religious Reforms Movements and Its Impact on Sir Syed

In making Sir Syed a foremost reformer of the Muslims of North India, the influences of his contemporaries involved in similar works in other regions and religions cannot be ignored. The correspondence between Sir Syed and Nawab Abdul Latif of Calcutta (1823-96) and the visit of the Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to

³⁶ See for details, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Serat-e-Faridiya*,
³⁷ Ibid., pp. 330. Also see, *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*, op.cit., Vol. 16, p. 682.

Calcutta, testifies that Sir Syed was familiar or aware of the similar developments in the other parts of India.³⁸

The fact that Sir Syed established the *Scientific Society* at Ghazipur in January 1864, after his visit to Calcutta in October 1863, shows the possibility that Sir Syed was influenced by the developments of Calcutta³⁹ where Abdul Latif had already started his reform movement for the Muslim community and had established the Literary Society of Calcutta in 1863 which might have prompted Sir Syed to establish some kind of society at Ghazipur and the same was established in the form of *Scientific Society* in 1864. On the other hand Sir Syed also had close relations with other social reformer of India.

The biographic details of Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) a prominent social reformer of North India show that Sir Syed had very friendly relations with Swamiji and both used to visit each other and discuss various subjects.⁴⁰ In this way Sir Syed not only had relation with Muslim reformers but also with the non-Muslim social reformer of India and they had influenced Sir Syed to some extent.

Shan Muhammad who made an in-depth study of biography of Sir Syed considers that he might, have considerably swayed by the modernist reform movement of Turkey known as *Tanzimat Movement*.⁴¹ Besides these social reformers of India and other countries Sir Syed also influenced by the religious

³⁸ . In 1863, Sir Syed attended a meeting of the *Scientific Society* at Calcutta and delivered a lecture. Abdul Latif Khan to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in *Selected Documents from Aligarh Archives* ed. By Yusuf Hussain, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967, p. 6-7.

³⁹ . It seems that Sir Syed had close relations with Nawab Abdul Latif who had already established his Mohammadan Literary Society in Calcutta and had started his social reform activities much earlier than Sir Syed. See for details, S.Y. Shah, p. 101.

⁴⁰ . For example, one day Sir Syed told Swamiji that whatever Swamiji said was appropriate and reasonable but he could not understand how a small *havan* could purify the air. Swamiji asked him how much *dal* was cooked every day in his kitchen. Six or seven *seers* was the reply. "How much asafoetida do you put in it?" "One masha" was the reply. Then Swamiji said, "A such small quantity makes the entire dal delicious and its fragrance fills the room, so the good things thrown in the *hovan* being converted into gases purify air". See, Har Bilas Sarda, *Life of Dayanand Saraswati* (Ajmer : Bhagvan Swami, 1946), pp. 102, 107-7.

⁴¹ . Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: A Political Biography*, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut 1969, p. 45 [Hereafter Shan Muhammad, *Political Biography*].

teachings of Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824) and Shah Ghulam Ali⁴² (1743-1824), they played an important role in shaping the personality of Sir Syed. In making Sir Syed a rationalist, the influences of these two saints had greater impact on Sir Syed. The fact that Sir Syed grew up in a family that had close connections with such saints, should have helped him imbibe their doctrines. Sir Syed's maternal grandfather had close contacts with Shah Abdul Aziz and other *Wahhabis*. The observation of his biographer, Maulana Hali mentioned that, Sir Syed was influenced by the religious reform movement started by the great mystic Shah Waliullah and his successors.⁴³ Even Sir Syed wrote many pages in praise of Shah Waliullah in *Asar-us-Sanadid* and hence Sir Syed has also been called 'the spiritual heir of Shah Waliullah'.⁴⁴ Not only the biographical facts of Sir Syed's early life but also the character of his early theological writings⁴⁵ point to the influence of the above mentioned religious thoughts as being the main influence on his outlook because of the fact that *Madrasa-e-Rahimia* of Shah Waliullah at Delhi had deep impact on the life of Sir Syed, and had provided conducive atmosphere for the development of rational as well as religious thought of Sir Syed. In the first half of 19th century *Madrasa-e-Rahimia* was the centre of intellectual activities where both kind of rational and traditional knowledge was imparted.⁴⁶ In the later phase of his life Sir Syed had no hesitation in defending the *Wahhabis*⁴⁷ and it has been reported

⁴² . Shah Abdul Aziz fought vehemently against outdated medieval concept and emphasized the need of reinterpreting Islamic thought in the light of the dynamic problems of changing social order. Shah Ghulam Ali took a line, more strict than that of former on superstitious practices such as vows, offerings and amulets.

K.A. Nizami, "Socio-Religious Movements in Indian Islam 1763-1898" in *India and Contemporary Islam*, ed. S.T. Lokhandwala, (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1977, pp. 98-115).

⁴³ . A.H. Hali, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

⁴⁴ . For details of Shah Waliullah religious and political ideas see, Aziz Ahmad, Political and Religious Ideas of Shah Waliullah, *Muslim World*, No. 1, vol. III (January, 1962), p.26.

⁴⁵ . For example, see his works, *Kalimat-ul Haqq* (1849) in which he has attacked the traditional way in which the saints have been worshipped by their followers and *Rah-i-sunnat dar Radd-i-Bid'at* (1850), which was about Wahhabi Movement.

⁴⁶ . Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics: From Sir Syed to the Present Day* (Aligarh School), APH Publication Corporation, New Delhi, 2002, p. 26. (Hereafter . Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*).

⁴⁷ . Sir Syed published a review after the publication of Hunter's Indian Mussalman, in the form of article which appeared in the leading paper in North India, *The Pioneer* and *Aligarh*

that he openly declared himself as a *Wahhabi*.⁴⁸ In this way Sir Syed was not only guided by Wahhabis ideology but also had considerable impact by the Wahhabis ideas which made Sir Syed a more rational person in his social and religious outlook.

Sir Syed was also impressed by the religious practice of Syed Ahmad Shahid of Raibareli (1796-1836) and Maulana Shah Muhammad Ismail Shahid (1779-1831)⁴⁹ and the *Mujahideen Movement*⁵⁰, enacted by the former. Thus Sir Syed was influenced by the socio and religious reform movements started by his predecessors during 19th century.

[D] Impact of Intellectual Environment of Delhi on Sir Syed

The intellectual atmosphere of Delhi, during the first half of the 19th century was quite conducive for the literary development where Sir Syed produced a number of works because it provided quite conducive atmosphere to Sir Syed for his scholarly pursuits. It awakened the dominant interest of Sir Syed and made him aware of his knowledge. Not only did he read profusely⁵¹ but also participated in the various, social, cultural and literary discussions and debates that were organized from time to time. Even Sir Syed wrote on secular subjects as well as on religious subjects. In other words these writings of Sir Syed covered two broad discipline of the Islamic studies known as *Maqulat* i.e. the rational subjects and *Manqulat* the traditional subjects. Among the pre-mutiny

Institute Gazettee during 24th November 1871, 23rd February 1872 in which Sir Syed defended the cause of Wahhabis.

⁴⁸ When asked about his religion by an English official in search of the dangerous Wahhabis, Sir Syed declared: "I am Wahhabi". See the letter of Sir Syed to the editor of *Pioneer* dated 31 March 1871; also see J.M.S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, 3rd edn. Delhi: Deep Publication, 1974, p. 31.

⁴⁹ Christian W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1978, p. 34.

⁵⁰ The movement had two fold programme: Resurgence of political powers through active struggle and all-out effort to improve the moral tone of Muslim society and revive true religious spirit. It was to a great extent influenced by Wahhabi Movement. For detail see, Muhammad Hedayatullah, *Sayyid Ahmad: A Study of his Religious Reforms Movement of Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareli* (Lahore: S.M. Ashraf, 1970).

⁵¹ Most of the reading of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan confined to Islamic religion and jurisprudence e.g. *Sharh-i-Waqaya* (a book on Islamic jurisprudence), *Nurul Amwar* (a book on principles of jurisprudence), *Maqamat-e-Hariri* (a literary treasurer in Arabic language), *Hadith* and *Quran* etc. A.H. Hali, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

writings of Sir Syed, the most important place is occupied by *Asar-us-Sanadid* which is a historical and archaeological work of great intellectual vigour and intrinsic interest and thus Sir Syed having these qualities wrote a book on archacology in which he surveyed the historical monuments and principal buildings and inscription⁵² of his beloved city Delhi where he grew up as a boy to a mature thoughtful youth.⁵³ The other pre mutiny writings of Sir Syed are primarily of scientific in nature as they belong to the domain of *Maqulat* – the rational subjects. A booklet covering the art of mechanics entitled “*Tashil fi Jarr-e-Saqil*” (Introduction to the Art of Mechanics) which was corrected by his teacher Maulana Nurul Hasan (d. 1868) and was published by the Orphan Press for the Agra School Book Society in 1844. While the other treatise namely the *Tarjuman Fawaed al Afkar fi Amal al farjan* (translation of the Result of thought upon the use of compasses) is concerned with the science of geometry. Both of these treatises are Urdu adaptation of the original Arabic and Persian works of Khawaja Farid (grandfather of Sir Syed). Initially the idea and plan for under translation of these two works was conceived in an occasional discussion with two East India Company officers, Captain George William Hamilton who Sir Syed described as a great man of scholarly disposition and the Reverend John James Moor “a pious and God-fearing person and who was the Secretary of *Agra School Book Society*.”⁵⁴ Sir Syed also published *Fawaid al Afkar* from his brother Munsif Sayyid Muhammad Khan’s *Sayyed al Akhbar Press*, Delhi in 1849, when Sir Syed got transferred from Agra to Delhi as *Munsif* under the auspices of the *Vernacular Translation Society* of Delhi College then the Principal being Dr. Alois Sprenger and latter enjoyed close associations with the Muslim aristocracy of Delhi the other *Maqulat* writings

⁵² . As Sir Syed dealt in great details not only the life of Delhi in his *Asar us Sanadid*, but he also gave details descriptions of the Delhi’s Monuments as well as the sketches of the Principal buildings of Delhi and its inscriptions in ditto, just to make the buildings and inscription of Delhi for the in perpetuity for the People of the world.

⁵³ . Sir Syed had passed his mature life in Delhi and he had vividly described the social, cultural and intellectual atmosphere of Delhi, in his *Asar al Sanadid*. For details, see Gulfishan Khan, *Sufi Life of Shahjahanabad*.

⁵⁴ . Gulfishan Khan, Saiyyed Ahmad Khan: Some Early Influences in *Contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to Islamic Studies*, ed. by Abdul Ali and Sayyid Ahsan, p. 48.

of Sir Syed one of them was a treatise entitled *Qual-i-matin dar ibtal-i harakat-i-zamin* (form assertion with regard to the falseness of the motion of the earth is also a Purdy scientific in nature.

These writings of Sir Syed reflect the impact of intellectual perception of Sir Syed and his experiences of the intellectual societies of Delhi which were established by East India Company's rule at Delhi e.g. the Institute of Higher Learning and learned societies of *Delhi College* being the foremost of such institution and the other learned societies of such as the *Archaeological Society of Delhi*⁵⁵ and *Vernacular Society* set up under the auspices of Delhi College for the translation of European works into Urdu.

Besides it was the period which witnessed the growth and development of vernacular journalism in Urdu, introduction of printing presses, lithographs and the spread and dissemination of new ideas and learning as dispersed by those Colleges and Societies, through the medium of vernacular languages and printing presses, as reflected in the vividly intellectual atmosphere of the imperial capital Delhi then popularly known as *Shahjahanabad*, and who had been termed by Christian missionary C.F. Andrews as the '*Delhi Renaissance*'. In this way by a close examination of the writings of Sir Syed Ahmad before 1857 we can say it marked the deep impact and influences on his mind. It seems that Sir Syed's interests in European sciences, modern education had greater impact also on his writings as Sir Syed influenced by coming closer and witnessing the growing impact of the colonialism and the western culture and its manifestation, as represented by the East India Company's rule in North India.

⁵⁵ . Gulfishan Khan, *A Report on the Archaeological Society of Delhi, Newsletter*, Archaeological Section, Department of History, A.M.U. 2008.

[E] Impact of Western Society on Sir Syed during his visit to England

On the other hand Sir Syed's visit to England in 1869⁵⁶ which gave him what Margaret Case calls the "cultural shock" and fully concerned him of the necessity of modernizing Indian society. On his way to England Sir Syed befriended a co-passenger, Miss Marry Carpenter who was an educationist and was a dynamic lady working for female education in India. He was highly impressed and influenced by her views on general education and women's education in particular.⁵⁷

During his stay in England he participated in a number of functions and receptions and on various occasions met a galaxy of luminaries' viz., Lord Stanley of Alderly, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), Sir John William Kaye, Sir Bartle Frere, Duke of Argyll (1868-74) Secretary of State, etc., whose attractive manners, refined character and profound knowledge, left a deep impression on his mind.⁵⁸ After the visit of England Sir Syed was transformed into a great admirer of the English culture. Therefore it may be concluded that Sir Syed's visit to England and its famous University of Oxford and Cambridge made Sir Syed an observer of the western culture and traditions. His stay of seventeen months with full of zest, ignited his mind to revolutionize the Indian society, particularly the Muslim society through the medium of English language, education and culture. His motto became "educate, educate and educate"⁵⁹. "All the socio-political ills of India" he once told his friend Graham, "might be cured by this treatment (education)."⁶⁰ Therefore the visit of England had great impact on the educational moment of Sir Syed in India.

Therefore, we could say Sir Syed had got many traits and qualities from his family. He received the religious knowledge from the environment of his

⁵⁶. He got an opportunity of visiting England when his son Syed Mahmud was awarded a scholarship by Government to study law in London. For a brief account of his travel, see G.F.I. Graham, pp. 116-119. For further details of account of Sir Syed Travel to England and its impact on his personality, See Asghar Abbas, *Sir Sayyid Ka Safar Nama Musafaran-i-London*, Educational Book House, Aligarh, 2009 (Hereafter Asghar Abbas, *Safarnama*).

⁵⁷. G.F.I. Graham., *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵⁸. A.H. Hali, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-6.

⁵⁹. G.F.I. Graham, p. 7.

⁶⁰. *Ibid.*

family's association with the Sufi life of Delhi. The rational ideas he got from the *Madrasa-e-Rahimia* of Shah Waliullah, the intellectual atmosphere he got from the intellectual gatherings of Delhi, the liberal attitude he received from the Liberal Society of England, the Western culture and traditions and the advanced civilization and administration of colonial rule all these had made great impression on Sir Syed's mind.

In this way Sir Syed had a great impact on his life to all these things which made Sir Syed a great educationist and social reformer of Modern India and who worked for the Muslim community during the 19th century.

[F] Revolt of 1857 and its Impact on Sir Syed

Nineteenth century was a period of great turmoil for the Muslims of India. Sir Syed was posted at Bijnaur district (U.P.) state when the great revolt of 1857 broke out on 10th May 1857 from Meerut (U.P.). And within two days it reached also at Bijnaur where Sir Syed successfully saved the Europeans. It was due to the loyalty of Sir Syed to the British that he safely escaped the Europeans. Because Sir Syed considered it his first duty to protect the lives of European officers and their families stationed at Bijnaur as being in the service of the British government during the course of revolt of 1857. He spent every anxious moment at their side on day and night guarding them and remained prompt and alert in his loyalty to the Government.⁶¹

After the suppression of the revolt, Britishers had taken Muslims as the sole originators of the rebellion and fell harshly on them. With the capture of Delhi a general massacre followed and thousands of Muslims were hanged. They were burnt alive and a reign of terror began which had no parallel in history.⁶²

⁶¹ See, *The History of the Bijnaur Rebellion*, pp. 1-107.

⁶² John William Kaye, *The Sepoy war in India 1857-58*, vol. III (London) 1876, pp. 419-20. Also, see S.N. Sen, *Eighty Fifty Seven*, Publication division, New Delhi, 1958, p. 17

The slaughter of the innocents, helpless women and children was revenged in a manner that no one ever anticipated.⁶³ Sir Syed's cousin Hashim Ali Khan had been murdered by the troops and his mother and aunt had to go to Hazarat Nizamuddin Auliya's tomb (1233-1324) with great difficulty for their safety and security when her house was ransacked.⁶⁴ Sir Syed was shocked and traumatized because of the plight of the people which he witnessed during the revolt of 1857. Sir Syed saw this tragedy with his own eyes and it scared his soul. His hair turned grey and in moments of melancholic despondency he even thought of leaving the country and settling elsewhere.⁶⁵ When Sir Syed returned to Delhi he came to know that his house had already been ransacked and his mother also suffered due to rebellion; even for more than three days his mother Azizunnisa, aunt who was a blind sister of Azizunisa and an old woman called Zaiban, they had nothing to eat and no water was available for two days⁶⁶ and thus Sir Syed found them in great difficulty.

The revolt of 1857 also resulted in a major destruction of the architecture of the historic city of Delhi and it witnessed its destruction alongside the brutal killing, total financial ruin and forced expulsion of the residents of Delhi. There was much destruction of the old city of Delhi that lay around the last court of the last Mughal Emperor, the Red Fort of Emperor Shahjahan.⁶⁷ The population of the city and suburbs fell drastically. Religious places were special targets because in the British perception, these served as the main *Jihadi* centres during the uprising. Muslim religious elites were considered symbols of resistance and therefore they were the objects of retribution. Of the two famous mosques of the city, the *Fatehpur Mosque* was originally bought by Chunna Mal, while the other the beautiful *Zinatul mosque* was bought by a Hindu banker.⁶⁸ *Masjid-e--Akbarabadi*, the elite mosque in the

⁶³ Charles Metcalf, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, (Westminster, 1898), p. 73.

⁶⁴ See A.H. Hali, op.cit.

⁶⁵ K.A. Nizami, "History of the Aligarh Muslim University", Vol. 1 (1920-1943), Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1985, p. 3. (Hereafter K.A. Nizami, History of AMU).

⁶⁶ Sir Syed, *Sirat-i-Faridiya*, (Agra edition) pp. 53-4.

⁶⁷ See, Gullishan Khan, *Sufi Life of Shahjahabad*, op.cit. p. 101.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

hierarchy of the Delhi mosques, where the sons of renowned Shah Waliullah gave their lessons was razed to the ground.⁶⁹ And when peace returned to Delhi, the Muslims were ousted from all responsible positions. The nobles officials once in power, were no more in their respective offices. Every avenue of life was closed to them and if even a man stood in need of a career, he was a Musalman.⁷⁰

The rebellion of 1857 as described by the famous poet of 19th century Delhi Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib as “vast human tragedy” as he was also an eye witness to the rebellion.⁷¹

Under these circumstances Sir Syed Ahmad Khan devised various ways to improve the condition of his co-religionists. In such a situation Sir Syed had twin tasks. He had to prove that the Muslims were loyal to the British government because when peace returned to Delhi and when Muslims were allowed to return to their homes, they were required to give proof of their loyalty before gaining entrance to Delhi.⁷² On the other hand Sir Syed had to prove that Muslims were loyal to British and at the same time to bridge the religious antagonism between Islam and Christianity. With this aims in mind, Sir Syed wrote two monographs viz. *Asbab-e-Baghawat-i-Hind*⁷³ (The Causes of the Indian Revolt) in which Sir Syed identified the various causes that led to the rebellion and showing that it was not a popular rebellion as he traces the

⁶⁹ William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal, The Fall of a Dynasty*, Delhi, 1857, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 454-64.

⁷⁰ W.W. Hunter. *The Indian Mussulman: Are They bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen?* Orient Publishers (Reprint) 1969, pp. 158-159. (Hereafter Hunter, *Indian Mussulman*).

⁷¹ Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib, *Dastanbuy: A Diary of the Indian Revolt of 1857*, translated, ed. R. Russel and K. Alam (London: George Allen, 1969), p. 68.

⁷² Cited from Salahuddin Malik, “Religious and Economic Fictions in the 19th century India: A Case Study of the Indian Mutiny”, *Islamic Culture*, 47, (July 1972), p. 207.

⁷³ Sir Syed traces the outbreak of rebellion of 1857 to a variety of causes especially to the despotic rule of British, Missionaries activities, non-inclusion of Indians in making laws, etc.

See, *Asbab-e-Baghawate-e-Hind* (the causes of the Indian Revolt) was privately printed by Sir Syed in 1858 and translated into English in 1873 by his two European friends Auckland and Graham. For the English translation see Hafeez Malik and Morris Dembo, op.cit., Appendix A. pp. 113-56.

outbreak of rebellion to a variety of causes especially to the despotic rule of British, missionary activities, non- inclusion of Indians in making laws etc.⁷⁴

On the other hand Sir Syed wrote other monograph in the form of *Loyal Mohammadans of India* in which he highlighted the eminent services rendered by Muslims during the rebellion and their loyalty towards the British; and at the same time showed the similarities between *Christianity* and *Islam* and the cordial relations existed among the followers of these religion from time immemorial.⁷⁵ In this way Sir Syed wanted to create rapprochement with British government by his scholarly writings and for the same he tried to field the gap between Islam and Christianity. With these aims in mind Sir Syed worked for the betterment of the Muslim community after the great revolt of 1857.

[G] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh Movement

The movement for the regeneration of Muslim community was launched by Sir Syed Ahmad with the sole aim in mind to ameliorate condition of Muslim community after the revolt of 1857. It was through the modern education which Sir Syed thought that it would cure the all ills of Muslim community and soon commenced his educational activities and to provide modern education to the Muslim community after the revolt of 1857, for this he started his Aligarh Movement in 19th century.

(1) Muslim Backwardness

Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was primarily launched to eradicate the educational backwardness of Muslims. It was considered necessary because they were not prepared to adopt the modern educational system of British. Why the Muslims remained aloof from the educational system of colonial government? In this respect detailed enquiry was made to know the progress

⁷⁴ . See Hafiz Malik and Morris Dembo, op.cit., pp. 113-56.

⁷⁵ . Sir Syed Ahmad, "*Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*", ed. Shan Mohammad, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications, 1972, p.34-58 (Hereafter, *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed*).

and problems of the Muslim education. Lord Mayo during the period of 1870 required from the all British Presidencies the status of education of Muslims in comparison to Hindus. The following tables based on the Report of British Government on the problem and progress of Muslim education in British India in 1870 are as follows which depict the progress of Muslim education in British India during 1865-66 to 1870-71.

Table -1

Number of Colleges and Students in British India during 1865-66

Province	Type of Institution	No. of Institution	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
Bengal	Government	7	727	14	8	749
	Private	5	294	13	32	339
	Total	12	1021	27	40	1088
N.W. Provinces	Government	3	169	19	2	190
	Private	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Total	3	169	19	2	190
Punjab	Government	2	29	4	3	36
	Private	1	10	3	2	15
	Total	3	39	7	5	51
Madras	Government	1	-	-	-	-
	Private	1	73	-	9	82
	Total	2	73	-	9	82
Bombay	Government	2	124	4	39	167
	Private	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	2	124	4	39	167
Total	Government	15	1122	41	61	1224
	Private	11	304	16	34	354
GRAND TOTAL		26	1426	57	95	1578

Source: Based on the statistics regarding Colleges and Students in 1865-66 given in "Note on the State of Education in India 1865-66" in *Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India 1859-71*, vol. III, pp. 148-9.

TABLE-2**Total Number of Students In selected Provinces during 1870-71**

Provinces	Hindu Students	Muslim Students	Percentage of Muslim Students Population	Percentage of Hindu Students Population
Madras	93,830	4,285	4.3	6.0
Bombay	149,178	15,492	9.4	15.4
N.W. Provinces	121,914	24,266	16.0	13.5
Punjab	47,267	31,330	40.0	51.6
Oudh	28,452	9,127	24.0	9.9
Total	440,641	84,500	18.7	22.8

Source: A.P Howell, "Education in British India 1870-71" in *Educational Records III*
p.562; *Government Records* No. CCV, p.335

Table -3

Comparative Performance of Muslim Students in Various Examinations held during 1870-71

	Bengal Province						NW Provinces						United Provinces						Central Provinces						Grand Total											
	F.A.			B.A.			F.E.			F.A.			B.A.			F.E.			F.A.			B.A.			F.E.			F.A.			B.A.			F.E.		
	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P				
Hindus	1323	728	373	152	56	128	80	36	20	5	4	37	24	6	2	1	-	58	40	18	14	5	1	19	16	5	-	-	1565	888	438	188	160	61		
Muslims	73	39	9	4	2	-	21	15	4	3	-	-	5	3	5	4	-	-	9	5	1	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	110	64	19	12	2	-		
Christians	67	45	16	5	6	2	24	17	2	1	-	-	8	6	-	-	1	1	6	6	-	-	1	5	3	1	1	-	110	79	19	7	8	3		
Others	103	56	61	24	42	20	2	2	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	109	61	62	24	42	20		
Total	1566	866	459	185	201	78	175	114	42	24	5	4	53	36	11	6	2	1	74	51	20	15	4	1	26	21	6	1	-	1894	1081	558	231	212	84	

Source: Based on the "Report of Syndicate of the Calcutta University on the business year 1870-71 in Educational Records III, pp. 497-501.

Note: (i) In Matriculation 6 Muslims passed from Madras University, while 258 Brahmmins, 103 Hindus, 30 Christians passed. In F.A. and B.A. there were no Muslims. (Source: "Report of the Syndicate of Madras University" Ibid. pp. 505-7.

(ii) In Bombay University of 904 appeared at Entrance Examination only 2 Muslims passed. In F.A. and B.A. there were no Muslims.

(Source: "Report of the Syndicate of Bombay University", Ibid. p. 509)

A = Appeared, P = Passed, F.E. = Entrance Examination

Mayo's enquiry into the progress and problem of the education of the Muslims revealed their unequal backwardness in different regions and at various levels. Then over all educational position in British India was not at all dismal for in 1870-71, while the percentage of the Muslim population was 22.8 that of Muslim students in various educational institutions was 18.7 (See Table No. 1). While the Muslims were very backward in Bombay, Madras and Punjab it was not so in N.W. Provinces, Muslim constituted one seventh of the whole body of students though according to Census they were less than that and they were making rapid progress in education. In Oudh also Muslims were very advanced in education. (See Table No. 1).

But considering higher education alone, the position of the Muslims of British India as a whole was very pathetic. Of the 1,578 students enrolled in 26 colleges of British India in 1865-66 only 57 (3.5%) were Muslims. With the expansion of higher education in British India during 1865-1870 the number of Muslim students also increased. At the college level in N.W. Provinces, the position of Muslims in 1870-71 was slightly above (14%) than their percentage of population (13.5%). (See Table No. 2).

The Annual Report of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University for the year 1870-71 shows that out of 1894 candidates who had appeared at the entrance examination from all over India there were only 110 Muslims (5.6%) and of the 64 passed, there were 15 from N.W. provinces, 39 from Bengal, 5 from Punjab; 2 and 3 from Central Provinces and Oudh. Out of the 12 Muslims who passed four were from Bengal, 2 from N.W. Provinces, 1 each from Punjab and Oudh. Still the dismal was their position at B.A. level there were only 2 Muslims from Bengal, out of the 212 candidates appeared at B.A. Both of them failed (see Table 3). In short, during the period of 1858-70, the three universities of British India, produced 668 B.A.'s of whom 22 (3.2%) were Muslims. Though there were 22 B.A.'s from N.W. Provinces alone, there was not a single Muslim. The general literacy among the Muslims of N.W. Provinces in 1881 was very low – 2.72% (See Table No. 3). From the above

analysis it can be concluded that the position and performance of the Muslim students declined as the level of their education went up and Muslims remain a backward community in receiving the higher and modern education.

Nawab Abdul Latif Khan stressed the cultural aspects and traced Muslim backwardness to their detachment to Urdu and the neglect of provincial (Bengali) language and English⁷⁶ and “little willingness” to shed old and traditional ideas on education. Badruddin Tyabji traced Muslims backwardness in education to them “feelings of pride for the glories of their past Empire and the consequent inability to reconcile themselves to the present circumstances and appreciate modern education. Besides he attributed their backwardness to their poverty and their “vague feeling” that European Co-education was antagonistic to the traditions of Islam.⁷⁷ But to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who considered that the want of sufficient encouragement to oriental language and literature and the attempt of the Government to make one kind of education to suit all classes of the people made it difficult for the Muslims to benefit by the education provided at the public institutions.⁷⁸ On the other hand Sir Syed was of the opinion that Muslims considered English education as “mean and degraded”⁷⁹ in comparison to their learning; and they called English institution as “places of ignorance or brutality.”⁸⁰

Therefore Muslim backwardness was one of the factors which Sir Syed thought to eradicate through modern education and for this very reason also he launched his educational movement to ameliorate the condition of Muslims in India.

⁷⁶ Abdul Lateef, “Memorandum on Education”, in Hunter Commission Report, Indian Education Commission: Report of the Indian Education Commission by W.W. Hunter, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1883; New Delhi : Nehru Museum Library (NML) Microfilm Copy NO. 2763, pp. 500-1. (Hereafter, *Hunter Commission Report*).

⁷⁷ For further details see, The Evidence of Tayabji before the Indian Education Commission 1882. *Tayyabji Papers*, vol. 26, No. 99.

⁷⁸ See “Circular of M.A.O. College Fund Committee”, S.R. Mehrotra Papers (File No. 13 For details of Sir Syed’s analysis of the educational problems of the Muslims, see his evidence before the Indian Education Commission, 1882) in North-West Provinces Educational Commission Report, pp. 282-302.

⁷⁹ Syed Ahmad Khan, *Present State of Indian Politics* (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1888), p. 68.

⁸⁰ A.H. Hali, *Ma qalat-e-Hali*, ed. By Abdul Haq (Delhi, 1934), p. 264.

[2] Modern Education

Sir Syed had impression of modern education to bring a change in the thought process of Muslims. To Sir Syed education meant western education. His appreciation of western education⁸¹ and his aversion toward indigenous education do not seem to have been born out of any pre conceived notion or prejudices. Like his predecessors, Raja Rammohan Roy, he grasped the suitability and significance of western education and realized the futility and unsuitability of indigenous education for the present age. Hence he rightly preferred western education to indigenous education, since his philosophy was to "confirm with age".⁸² Sir Syed had some objections towards indigenous education in because of its defective system of imparting education as he observed that:

"The old Muhammadan books and their tone of writing do not teach the followers of Islam independence of thought, perspicuity and simplicity, nor do they enable them to arrive at the truth of matters in general; on the contrary they deceive and teach men to veil their meaning to embellish their speech with the fine words, to describe things wrongly and in irrelevant terms to flatter with false praise, to live in a state of bondage, to puff themselves up with pride, haughtiness, vanity, self-conceit to hate their fellow creatures, to have no sympathy with them, to speak with exaggeration, to leave the history of the past uncertain and to relate facts like tales and stories".⁸³

Sir Syed observed painfully that despite these defects such books and learning prevailed among the Muhammadan only due to the preferences of Muslim rulers; and as soon as their reign clinched such learning also became defunct and it could not stand the test of time. Its utility led to its failure.⁸⁴

⁸¹ At time, he used the term modern, or English or higher education interchangeably..

⁸² Sir Syed's speech at the laying out of the foundation stone of Victoria College Ghazipur. 1964, in *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad*, p. 115.

⁸³ The Aligarh Movement: *Basic Documents* 1864-1898, ed. By Shan Mohammad, vol. II. Meerut: Meenakshi Publication, 1981, p. 369 (hereafter *Aligarh Documents*).

⁸⁴ *Aligarh Documents*, Ibid., p. 362.

Hence he was against the continuance of indigenous institutions like the *Maktab* and *Madrasa* which were the centers of such learning.⁸⁵

During his visit to a village school when he found the school actually occupied by the cattle of the locality, instead of children, he began to doubt the effectiveness of the system of education imparted in the government schools. In one of his earliest pamphlets on education – *Review of Education* (1859) – not only did he criticize vernacular schools, but also condemned the policy of imparting education through the medium of vernacular and pleaded for the introduction of English education

He thought that progress and prosperity lies in the acquisition of English education without which the nation would remain backward. In his speech at Calcutta in 1863, he said:

“The reason why we are so backward is that whilst we were learned in and have benefited by the philosophy, science and arts of the antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times”.⁸⁶

All through four decades (from 1857-1898), notwithstanding, the non-cooperative and yet critical attitude of a section of Muslim community, Sir Syed pursued and propagated the idea and importance of modern education with courage and confidence. “All the socio-political ills of India”, he once told his friend Graham, “might be cured by this treatment (education). Cure the root and tree will flourish”.⁸⁷ Sir Syed believed that as long as the people were not educated according to the needs of the time, they remained poor and ignorant.⁸⁸ Hence, Sir Syed put his energies to work for the propagation of modern

⁸⁵. See Sir Syed's letter to Mohsinul Mulk, February 11, 1870, in *Khutat-e-Sir Syed*, ed. By Sayyid Ross Masood, Badaun: Nizami Press, 1931, pp. 35-38.

⁸⁶. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, “Patriotism and the Necessity of Promoting Knowledge in India” English translation of a lecture delivered in Persian at the Mohammadan Literary Society of Calcutta on 6th October, 1863 in *Nawab Abdul Latif: His Writings and Related Documents*, Dacca, Samundra Prokashan, 1968, ed by Enamul Haque (Hereafter *Lateef Documents*).

⁸⁷. G.F.I. Graham, op.cit., p. 7.

⁸⁸. Akhtar ul Wasey, *Education of Indian Muslims: A Study of the All India Muslim Educational Conference*, Delhi, Press Asia International, 1977, p. 7. (Hereafter, A. Wasey).

education towards the Muslim community to improve their condition during 19th century.

[3] Education for Masses or Education for Elites

Sir Syed is being criticized by scholars for his approach to education for elites⁸⁹ and the MA.O. College which he established for the education of *Sharif* families of Muslim community⁹⁰, represents elites society of Muslims, and therefore they believed that Sir Syed as a believer of blue blood who never aimed at leveling down the social classes among the Muslims. Though Sir Syed did not give top priority to the educational requirement of the poor nor did he neglect their education. 'Unless the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here,' Syed Ahmed wrote from London, 'it is impossible for a native to become civilized and honored; Indeed, he regarded *Ilm* as the precondition for worldly and other-worldly salvation---knowledge not only in the customary sense, but as a combination of religious texts and the sciences in their time⁹¹. On the other hand it seems that Sir Syed was influenced more by Macaulay's 'downward filtration theory' than by Bentham's 'Utilitarian Philosophy' which had stressed more on higher education and the education of the high classes.⁹² Sir Syed being a product of Mughal aristocracy and having witnessed the decline and disintegration of the Mughal aristocracy class was bothered about their regeneration.⁹³ He had pinned the hopes of bringing up a group of political leaders from the Muslims who in due course would regain and restore

⁸⁹ M.S. Jain, *The Aligarh Movement: Its Origin and Development, 1858-1906*, Agra, Sri Mehra & Co., 1965, p. 50 (Hereafter, M.S. Jain).

⁹⁰ See the chapter on "Sharif Culture" in David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, New Jersey, Princeton University, 1978. (Hereafter, Lelyveld, First Generation).

Syed Ahmed Khan, *A Voyage to Modernism* ed. Mushirul Hasan, Nishat Zaidi, p.11, Delhi, 2011.

⁹¹ It may be noted that he was presented with a full set of Macaulay's work in 1866 as a recognition to his work connected with Scientific Society. See Letter from Secretary to the Government of N.W. Provinces, to Sir Syed, n.d., in *Aligarh Documents*, vol. III, pp. 1093-94.

⁹² In many of his writings Sir Syed spoke about the education of the children of the noble and well to do Muslims e.g. See *The Report of the Select Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muhammadan of India*, English Translation, Banaras : Medical Hall Press, 1873, reprinted in *Aligarh Documents*, vol. II, pp. 58-60 (Hereafter *Sir Syed Report*).

the lost status of the community and thus he believed it to be 'the easiest and better way to educate the whole community' through their political leaders.⁹⁴

In the second half of the 19th century India, there still existed the class differences and where education had not succeeded in breaking those barriers. Sir Syed was afraid that irrespective of the education and qualification, aristocracy would never tolerate a man of low caste being associated with the process of legislation which affected their lives and property.⁹⁵ Besides he thought that Viceroy also would prefer a person only of good breeding as his colleague to sit in his council and hence he gave more importance to the education of the upper class.⁹⁶ Though Sir Syed gave top priority to the educational needs of the elite of the society, but he did not want to restrict the advantages of education only to the elite of the society but he was quite conscious of the significance of the education of the masses and its role in liquidating illiteracy.⁹⁷ He believed that the best way to spread mass education would be through the education of a few scholars, who would in turn educate their fellowmen in the proper manner.⁹⁸ His strategy for the mass education seems to have been born out of his dissatisfaction with the prevalent system of education which produced only pseudo-scholars and so he did not like to advocate it. Moreover the College which Sir Syed established for the education of our country though at that time Muslim aristocracy and affluent class generally received education and children of common people had no access and for it Sir Syed was criticized but this criticism does not hold much water and certainly the college could not meet the needs of the common people; but it was not that Sir Syed altogether was blind to the institution and training of the Muslim masses, their social reform, their economic betterment and their well-being. It was with a view to meet these needs that Sir Syed established the

⁹⁴ . *Aligarh Institute Gazettee*, October 10, 1879 (Hereafter AIG).

⁹⁵ . Sir Syed's speech at Lucknow on 28 December, 1887, in *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed*, p. 204-205.

⁹⁶ . *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁹⁷ . Sir Syed's letter to Scientific Society, October 15, 1869, 'Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed' p. 231.

⁹⁸ . AIG, November 8, 1872. Also see *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*, vol. XII, p. 277.

Mohammadan Educational Conference in 1886, so that the passion behind establishment of the College may fructify here in the form of a movement.⁹⁹ Besides, he might have been confronted with the problem of raising resources for a number of schools and hence thought of training a few at one institution- which would be much cheaper and effective means to diffuse education amongst the masses. However, mass education though significant was only of secondary concern to him.

[4] The Residential System of Education

Sir Syed's idea to establish his dream of *Oxford* at Aligarh included the idea of residential system of institution. Sir Syed also laid much emphasis on the residential accommodation of the students which would comprised of hostels for which he believed to be an essential for the development of character, corporate life and moral values for the students. He believed that residential system would instill discipline, infuse a spirit of brotherhood and develop a feeling of Muslim solidarity and make them class conscious.¹⁰⁰ Sir Syed also observed that to provide a special environment to the children of affluent class, to form their study in a residential place where the sons of wealthier people could be provided, play-ground, mosque, library, common reading room, dining hall and common uniform, and all these facilities would enable them to study in a healthy place in the form of residential institution because at home they would not get the same and also would spoil their mental development.¹⁰¹ Therefore Sir Syed propagated and later on established an institution in the form of M.A.O. College in 1877, because he thought that such arrangement would facilitate students coming from higher classes and various parts of India and would provide a conducive atmosphere for the development of their personality and he thought that if such residential system of education was preferred in *Oxford* and *Cambridge* such system could be provided in India also.

⁹⁹ A. Wasey, op.cit., p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ *Sir Syed Report*, p. 59.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

[5] Emphasis on Character Building

The educational philosophy and programme which Sir Syed evolved to take his community from traditionalism to modernism was a unique combination of Westernism and Islamic values. As Sir Syed belonged to an aristocratic family which had the tradition of Islamic faith and learning and a very religious background and on the same way he was educated in traditional manner. Islamic ideology became part and parcel of his life, yet by serving the British and being exposed to Western culture, he had also developed immense appreciation for the Western values and appreciated their culture. But did he neither dare to break fully from the Islamic heritage nor whole heartedly embraced the Western culture despite, he knew that it would be inevitable for the progress in modern times.

To him, modern education and Islamic ideology were the two sides of the same coin. In Sir Syed's scheme of education religious teaching had an important place. Muslim students, Sunni or *Shia*, attended obligatory classes in their respective religious beliefs unto a certain standard. A special series of books for religious teaching for all classes was prepared under the auspices of the committee for religious instruction.¹⁰² The first period of every working day was devoted to religious teaching. This included Sundays when for its European staff the college was closed. On Friday there was sermon after the mid prayer. Attendance was registered at these daily programmes. These arrangements were imposed to make the students form a religious habit of prayers and primary ritual which Sir Syed regarded as a distinct feature of the Muslim.

More stress however was laid on principals of morals, than the details of rituals. These principals were outlined as follows by the Trustee:

“In our religious instruction all each our students that the essential of religious are to help those related to us; to show compassion and kindness to all the creatures of God; to cultivate and to curb anger

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 10.

and pride. Thus we teach what our duties towards God; the duties of the one Muhammadan towards another, and of a man to his neighbor, whatever his religion, the duties of children towards their father and of the young towards the old; the right behavior towards the other nation with whom we live. We teach them the excellence of truth, and it's various kinds – truth of the heart, truth of the tongue, truth of our intentions, truth to our proneness and the truth in our actions. The books of religious instruction... are full of instruction on these subjects".¹⁰³

Sir Syed had aimed at was to make religion a living force in the formation of students character. He had studied at Oxford 'the methods adopted to give religious instruction of Christianity to the students of Oxford. So Sir Syed substituted the mosques for the Chapel and the Quran to the Bible and creating office of Dean in the college to be filled by a pious Muslim, hoped similarity to pray side by side in their own way but in the same mosque to lessen their differences. Conscious efforts were also made to wear the students from Eastern manners, as all boarders were to dress decently. If they chose the Eastern dress or style, the uniform was to consist of coat, trouser and fez. "Ill shaped laced or dyed clothes or dresses made of them and transparent materials were banned."¹⁰⁴ No students were allowed to have long hair or curly hair, to use *dentifrice* to blacken the teeth and to use henna to redden the palms or to wear more than one ring was forbidden.¹⁰⁵ All students were asked to keep white and clean dress. All boarders were taught Western manners and etiquettes. The boarders had to take their food at table in the College dining hall.¹⁰⁶ The students had to play cricket and foot-ball under the supervision of English mentor. In 1878 when the *First Cricket Eleven* was formed in India in the M.A.O. College.¹⁰⁷ In the boarding houses, there were many societies formed on the model of *Cambridge University* to develop the mental faculties of the students. In this way the scheme of education prepared by Sir Syed had the aim of providing teaching to the students in moral upbringing, European

¹⁰³ . Proceeding of the Government of North-West Provinces, [Education Department], June 1873, p. 49.

¹⁰⁴ . Sir Syed, *Tareqa-i-Intizam wa Silsila-e-Tarbiyat*, p. 30. Cited *Rahmani Begum*, op.cit., p. 233.

¹⁰⁵ . Ibid., p. 233. from

¹⁰⁶ . Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁰⁷ . Ibid., p. 234.



Sir Syed Ahmad Khan shown in a cartoon by Awadh Punch (Urdu Akhbar) as snake charmer. The snakes are marked as subscription for his M.A.O. College

manners, and to develop their character with the religious values; so they had to imbibe all these traits and particularly the emphasis was focused on moral and character building in students of MAO college, so that they could move in the modern world with the spirit of Islam also with knowledge of modern education and western sciences to face the new world.

[6] Establishment of M.A.O. College – Sir Syed’s Dream of Oxford at Aligarh

Sir Syed was successful in giving the practical shape to many of his thought on education which paved the way for the emergence of a number of educational organisations and institutions e.g. he established *Scientific Society* in 1864 at Ghazipur and *Muhammadan Educational Conference* in 1886 even he established elementary school (*Maktab*) in 1859 in Moradabad and a High School at Ghazipur in 1864 but most important was the establishment of M.A.O. College in 1877 at Aligarh which was his dream of *Oxford*, later on which became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. When did the idea of M.A.O. College come into his mind, and why did he establish such a College? Focusing on these aspects will give the aims and objectives of Sir Syed Educational Mission and the purpose behind the establishment of M.A.O. College.

It has been suggested that Sir Syed was mainly inspired by the anonymous letter written to him in 1867 by an English man regarding the necessity of establishment a separate institution for imparting English education to the Indians.¹⁰⁸ But the fact that Sir Syed was too conscious of its need and importance after the revolt of 1857, as it is evident from his monograph on education in entitled “Review of Instruction” and his subsequent speeches on various occasion, especially at the *Muhammadan Literary Society* at Calcutta in 1863 and his establishment of a *Maktab* in 1859 and a High School at Ghazipur in 1864, where teaching of English formed one of the

¹⁰⁸ See M.S. Jain, *op.cit.*, pp. 26-27.

subjects of study, leads to the conclusion that he could not have been so much influenced by the English man's letter as by his deep faith in English education. But due to the impact of his visits to England in 1869 where Sir Syed observed various educational institutions including the universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford* and he started thinking of establishing an institution in India on the Oxford and Cambridge model.¹⁰⁹

Sir Syed launched his educational movement after careful study of his place in India and he made a systematic effort by organizing a "*Committee for Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning Among the Muhammadans of India*" on 26 December 1870, to identify the specific reasons for the aversion of the Muslim community towards English and to place the education of the Muslims on a better and sounder footing".¹¹⁰ The committee of which Sir Syed was the Secretary succeeded in elucidating the opinion of the cross-section of the community pertaining to the problems of the education of the Muslims through an open essay competition in Urdu and realized the importance of making private efforts for the secular as well as spiritual education at one and the same institution, as it would not be possible for the government to make such an arrangement in a public institution.¹¹¹

And Sir Syed realized that it was necessary to pursue his idea of opening a modern institution with facilities for instruction in oriental languages, Islamic religion, along with English and other subjects. He had the blue print of the institution and encouraged by the British Government as stated that the scheme

¹⁰⁹ Sir Syed wrote to his friend, Mohsinul Mulk that hardly a night passes without discussing the possibilities of establishing a modern institution in India. Sir Syed's letter to Mohsinul Mulk, 15th May 1870. See, S.K. Bhatnagar, *History of the M.A.O. College*, Aligarh. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1969, p. 34 (Hereafter S.K. Bhatnagar).

¹¹⁰ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to C.A. Elliot dated June 14, 1872. Selected Documents from the Aligarh Archives, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1967, p. 149 (Hereafter *Selected Documents from Aligarh Archives*)

¹¹¹ The Committee notified that essay competition would be open to all the Muslims and there would be three prizes of Rs. 500, 300, 150 for the first, second and third best essays respectively. The Committee received twenty five essays which were scrutinized by a select committee consisting of 13 members and the prizes were awarded and the report was finalized by 15th April 1872. See, *Selected Documents from Aligarh Archives*, pp. 149-150. AIG, 25 October, 1872.

was “entitled to every encouragement” which the government could give.¹¹² Sir Syed also had a band of close but committed associates to give moral support to his programme.¹¹³ But what it lacked was finance. So he got the earlier committee dissolved as its purpose was over and set up a new committee on May 12, 1872 to raise funds for setting up a modern institution which in turn appointed a number of local sub-committees in different parts of India.¹¹⁴ And after gradual pursuing of his mission to establish a modern institution, Sir Syed and his associates were successful and the dream of establishment of an *Oxford* realized, when the foundation of school was laid on the birthday of Queen Victoria by Samiullah Khan, one of his friends and associates and thus school started functioning with class 9th from 1st June 1875¹¹⁵ and by the time Sir Syed succeeded in raising it to the status of a College by dint of his perseverance. Not only did he seek the cooperation and help, patronage from the Government and philanthropists but also invited them to visit the College at Aligarh on various occasions.¹¹⁶

It seems that many British officials, especially the Governor-Generals of India and the Lieutenant-Governors of N.W. Provinces showed much enthusiasm and keen interest in Sir Syed’s enterprise. It was not only because the official policy of giving encouragement to the private educational efforts of the Muslims but also due to Sir Syed’s success in cultivating excellent personal relationship with the British and remaining loyal to them cultivated good rapprochement between Sir Syed and British. On the one occasion, he

¹¹² . Officiating Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary of North West Provinces dated 9th April, 1872 in the Aligarh Documents, vol. II, p. 400.

¹¹³ . Among the close associates of Sir Syed were Maulana Samiullah Khan, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Raja Jai Kishan Das, Raja Syed Baqar Ali Khan, Lutf Ali Khan Chattari, Mohammad Inayatullah, etc.

¹¹⁴ . Syed Ahmad Khan to C.A. Elliot dated 14 June 1872, *Selected Documents from Aligarh Archives*, p. 150, also see AIG, Feb. 21, 1872. There were 65 members in the Committee and all were Muslims. For details of the Committee, see “Rules for the Guidance and Management of the College Fund Committee, 1872, in *Aligarh Documents*, vol. II, pp. 381-86.

¹¹⁵ . See *Aligarh Documents*, vol. II, pp. 444-45.

¹¹⁶ . For example Sir Syed invited Viceroy Lord Lytton to lay the foundation stone of the college in 1877. For details see, Syed Ahmad Khan to private Secretary to the Viceroy, 13 Sept. 1876 in *Selected Documents from Aligarh Archives*, pp. 273-276.

appreciated their rule as “most wonderful phenomena they could have ever seen”.¹¹⁷

Apart from Sir Syed's remaining loyal to British, Sir Syed also attempted to make future generation of Mohammedans better citizens and better British subjects by instilling in them “that loyalty which springs not from servile submission to a foreign rule but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government”.¹¹⁸ This was one of the most important aims of Sir Syed for establishing the M.A.O. College. The other important aims of Sir Syed were to “dispel illusory traditions of the past which have hindered the progress of the Muslims, remove prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on Muslims, reconcile Oriental learning with Western literature and science and inspire the dreamy minds of the people of the East with the practical energy which belongs to those of the West”.¹¹⁹

In this way Sir Syed established his dream of Oxford at Aligarh but why he established his Oxford at Aligarh, because when funds for the College were arranged, Sir Syed pondered over the site of the College and in a democratic way, he issued a Circular in July 1872 seeking the opinion of the people about Aligarh as the site¹²⁰ and then putting it for vote at the meeting of the M.A.O. College Fund Committee held on 8 November 1872, when the majority (47 out of 52 members) favoured Aligarh as a site.¹²¹ The voice of Aligarh as the site for University was made after taking into consideration on the geographic, economic and social factors. Sir Syed explained the reason to choose Aligarh as a smaller town for the college because he thought that there were no other

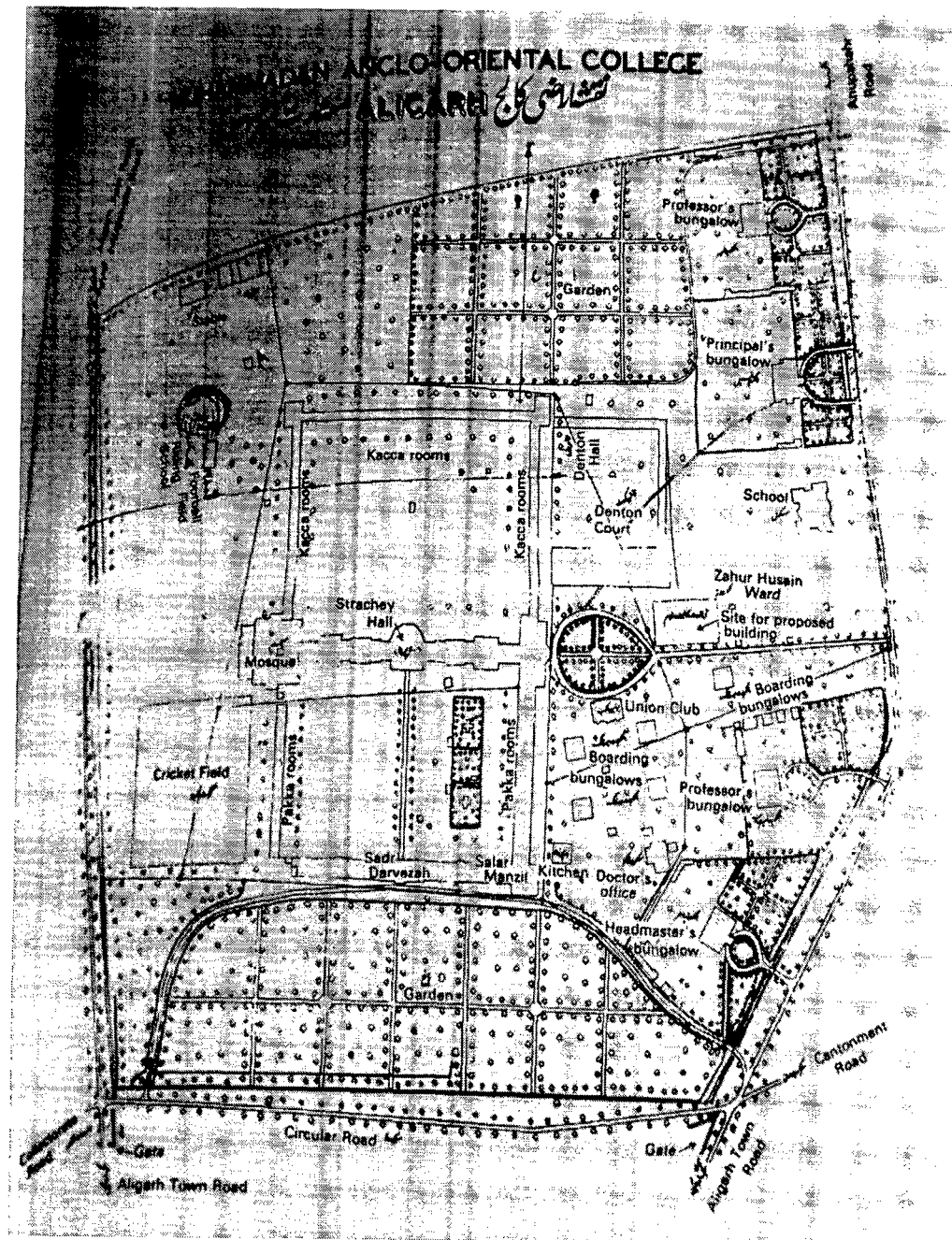
¹¹⁷ . An address presented by the M.A.O. College Fund Committee to his Excellency, Lord Lytton, dated 8th Jan. 1879, in *Aligarh Documents*, Vol. III, p. 699 (Hereafter *Lytton Address*).

¹¹⁸ . *Lytton Address* (In *Aligarh Document*), op.cit., p. 699.

¹¹⁹ . *Ibid.*, p. 699.

¹²⁰ . See the Circular of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee July 1872, *loc.cit.* Response to the circular was varied. Though many people preferred Aligarh, some suggested Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Meerut etc. Nawab of Rampur, however, suggested Aligarh as the site. See his letter to Syed Ahmad, 24 December 1872, File Book No. 29, Sir Syed Archives (SSA).

¹²¹ . Proceedings of the meeting of the College Fund Committee, 8th November 1872 in *Aligarh Documents*, vol. II, pp. 417-8.



**Site Map of M.A.O. College (1877)
(Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh)**

famous higher educational institutions located there¹²² the establishment of the College would give the place a name which would eclipse the fame of all other towns in India. "Are not the towns of Oxford and Cambridge with their limited number of population more conspicuous than all other famous towns of England?"¹²³ asked Sir Syed. Besides, he was swayed by its moderate climate, proximity to Delhi¹²⁴ convenient rail and road links¹²⁵, considerable Muslim population¹²⁶ and then mattered and moral support and cooperation¹²⁷ and lastly the sacredness name itself.¹²⁸ However, of all these factors, it was the financial support of the rich landed aristocracy of Aligarh that seem to have swayed the decision of Sir Syed in favour of making it the site for the college and thus Sir Syed was able to find a Muslim *Oxford* at Aligarh, with the cooperation of a British Government and the Hindu-Muslim help and their heartiest cooperation for establishing his dream of *Oxford* at Aligarh.

(7) Sir Syed's idea of a University

Sir Syed's efforts to establish a full-fledged university was not achieved during his lifespan as he sought the same. When the foundation stone of the

¹²² Though there were a number of educational institutions at Aligarh, all of them provided only school education and there was not a single college in the district. In 1868, there were 101 halqabandi schools 200 indigenous schools and 3 anglo-Vernacular Schools. Standard of education was higher at Aligarh and it was selected as one of the 8 experimental districts for introducing Halqabandi system of education. Only 2.22 percent of the population was literate in 1872. See for details, H.R. Nevil, *Aligarh : A Gazetteer*, Allahabad, Government Press, 1909, Northwestern Provinces, p. 154. (Hereafter *Aligarh District Gazetteer*).

¹²³ Report of Sir Syed on the Selection of Site, Enclosure A to the progress of the meeting of the College Fund Committee held on 8th November 1872, in *Aligarh Documents*, vol. II, p. 420.

¹²⁴ From Delhi, Aligarh is at a distance of 126 kms by rail.

¹²⁵ Aligarh is situated on the main Rail route and also being the junction has convenient with all parts of the country. Besides the trunk road connects it with other towns.

¹²⁶ According to the Census data of 1872, the population of Aligarh was 1,073,256 of which 955,044 were Hindus, 117,911 were Muslims and 301 others. See *Aligarh District Gazetteer*, pp. 70-71.

¹²⁷ In Aligarh district there were a number of wealthy landlords like Mardan Ali Khan of Chattari, Faiz Ali Khan, Hussian Ali Khan, Abdur Rahman Khan, Abdul Latif Khan, Mahmood Ali Khan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Nawab Mumtaz ud Daula, Mazhar Ali Khan, Syeds of Jalali etc. who gave enormous amount of money towards the establishment of the educational institutes. For details of Muslim Zamindars of Aligarh, see, *Land Settlement Report of Aligarh District, 1874* (Microfilm copy NML) Reel No. 17, pp. 20-27.

¹²⁸ The name 'Ali' of the word Aligarh reminds the Muslims of their Prophet's son in law Hazarat Ali. See Report of Sir Syed on the Selection of Site, *loc.cit.*

M.A.O. College was laid in 1877 as Sir Syed expressed his desire for the University. To quote:

“From the seed which we have sown today there may be spring up a mighty tree whose branches like those of the banyan tree of the soil, shall in turn strike firm roots into the earth and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings; that this College may expand into a university”.¹²⁹

Even the idea of a university originally put forward by Sir Syed at the very first instance, discussed in the 1873 plan of the scheme of College. It seems that it happened due to oversight because in a meeting of the Fund Committee held on August 31, 1873 Syed Mahmud had said that “I think what we mean is not a College but the university”.¹³⁰ Hence the word College was substituted by the word university and the copies of the resolution of the meeting along with the scheme: were sent to the local authority and to the Central government.

Some important members like Samiullah Khan, and the high officials like Lieutenant Governor of North Western Provinces William Muir doubted the feasibility of such a scheme which according to them might not have popular support¹³¹ and he wrote to the Viceroy Northbrook that “with few exceptions the native press was too strongly hostile”.¹³² The criticism from certain conservative quarters was also mounting up.¹³³ And in this context Sir Syed had his own doubts regarding the availability of sufficient amount of finance and hence at a meeting held at 21st December 1873 it was resolved by the Committee that let the beginning of the University be made in a humble manner by opening a school and later on College in 1877. But the desire of a university of the founder was unfulfilled for a long time and the idea of a university put forward by Sir Syed seems to have provided stimulus to Blunt.

¹²⁹ . An address presented to the Lord Lytton dated 8th January 1877, See *Aligarh Documents*, vol. III, p. 699.

¹³⁰ . Cf. from S.K. Bhatnagar, M.A.O. College, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

¹³¹ . William Muir wrote to Northbrook: I fear he took at things in respect of support of the native community in too far hopeful light... His supporters are of the enlightened and advanced class which carries little weight with Mohammadan public. William Muir to Northbrook, 12th August, 1873. *Northbrook Papers* (N.P.) Reel No. 5, p. 345 (Microfilm Copy), Nehru Museum Library (NML), New Delhi.

¹³² . Ibid.

¹³³ . See AIG, April 11, 1873.

who in 1884 prepared a blue print of “Mohammedan university”¹³⁴ and forwarded it to the Nizam, Salar Jung II for his consideration because he wanted to establish it at Hyderabad, but the strongest opposition came from Sir Syed himself who observed that official patronage to Oriental studies would do “more harm” and could give the impression that the government wanted to keep the Muslims as ordinary coolies by denying them Western education, science and continuing teaching traditional language and literature.¹³⁵ On this stage the departure of Ripon (Viceroy of India) also mattered, and the scheme could not be materialized. Meanwhile the demand for establishing a separate university in North-Western Provinces continued¹³⁶ primarily to disassociate the Colleges of the Province from the distant Calcutta University.¹³⁷ In this way the demand for the local university was finally approved by the Lieutenant Governor of the Provinces A.C. Lyall¹³⁸ as well as Governor General in Council.¹³⁹ But before practical steps towards starting a university could be taken up Ripon’s term of Viceroyalty came to an end and thus the support of the viceroy was ended the concept of establishing a local university after the departure of Ripon from India.

Meanwhile the political development of the Indian sub-continent since 1886 considerably distracted the attention of Sir Syed from education and in fact, to a great extent diluted his enthusiasm for the establishment of the university. The British attitude towards the Congress and its political aims led Sir Syed’s attention to divert the Muslims from Congress as his philosophy was to remain loyal to the British government.

¹³⁴ . For details of the scheme, see the Mohammedan University scheme’ in W. Blunt, “*India Under Ripon : A Private Diary*” London : F.F. Unwin, 1909 (Appendix I, pp. 327-30).

¹³⁵ . Sir Syed to Director of Public Instruction, North West Provinces and Oudh, dated 22 Feb. 1885 in (Selection from the Vernacular Newspapers of North Western Provinces (SVNNWP).

¹³⁶ . See *Mihir-e-Nemoroj* (Bijnore) 22 Feb. 1884, in S.V.N.N.W.P., p. 155.

¹³⁷ . *The Hindustani* (Lucknow), 20 Feb. 1884, p. 163 in S.V.N.N.W.P.

¹³⁸ . Home Education A, Proceedings, November 1884, No. 7 (NAI)

¹³⁹ . Secretary to Government of India to Secretary to Government of North West Provinces and Oudh, No. 323 dated 28th October 1884, Home Education A, Proceedings, November 1884, No. 41 (NAI).

Moreover his attention from education to politics also diverted due to outbreak of students strike, in the MAO College in 1888, mainly due to the suspension of a student for misbehaving with an employee of the mess¹⁴⁰ which tarnished the image of the institution and impaired its prospects of expansion.

The other problems was the financial crisis at M.A.O. College which also hampered the prospects of expansion of the College into a university as – Sir Syed responded in the meeting of the Trustees held on August 12, 1890, that Raja Amir Hasan who contributed Rs. 600 per year had not made any payments for the last three years as he was persuaded to believe by the opponents of the College that it was sinful for a Shia to help an institution where Sunnis were also taught. On the other hand Sir Syed also reported that the Collector of Aligarh informed the College that due to financial losses, the Municipal Board of Aligarh would not pay its annual grant of Rs. 1200 for some time.

The major financial crisis which the M.A.O. College faced during life time of Sir Syed was the embezzlement of 1895. The embezzlement of 1895 which made Sir Syed weak and frustrated as Shyam Behari Lal, a head clerk of M.A.O. College, who handled all cash transactions on Sir Syed's behalf had withdrawn Rs. 1,07,198 from the Bank of Bengal by forging the signatures of Sir Syed and seven Trustees of the M.A.O. College in 1895. Though the embezzlement was discovered later on and Shyam Bihari Lal was arrested and committed suicide while in jail but the great loss of College made Sir Syed frustrated.¹⁴¹ The Annual Report of 1898-99, prepared by the officiating Principal Theodore Morison, gives an idea of the financial condition of the College on the day of Sir Syed's death. He writes:

“At the time of Sir Syed death, the College owed debts to dozens of persons, to members of staff for unpaid salaries, to brick-

¹⁴⁰ . The strike had its origin in student employee clash. A student of the college, Syed Husain was suspended by Sir Syed, for thrashing the bearer of the mess, for his carelessness in keeping his lunch properly, resulting in its eating away by a stray cat. For further details see. S.K. Bhatnagar, M.A.O. College, op.cit., pp. 95-96.

¹⁴¹ . See S.K. Bhatnagar, op.cit., pp. 127-128.

layers, tile-makers, builder, to gardeners and coolies, to printers, and book sellers and to debenture holders, for interest. The list seemed interminable and every day our creditors sat round the College building, saying they were starving, or they wrote angry letters. Hyderabad did not pay its contribution for four months, while Salar Jang and Patiala did not pay at all. Consequently, it was extremely difficult to carry on the work of the College without suspending payments at all".¹⁴²

Due to all these unfavorable circumstances during the life time of Sir Syed that he could not carry out his mission to establish a full-fledged university despite his committed and constituent efforts and cooperation from the Colonial rulers.

[H] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Political Consciousness

Sir Syed Ahmad a great educationist and social reformer of modern India was also a voluminous writer and wrote a number of books, monographs pertaining to different subjects. Though much of his works dealt with educational and social aspects of his community, but he also contributed a number of articles in *Tahzibul Akhlaq* and *Aligarh Institute Gazettee*. The speeches and lectures of Sir Syed which were delivered on different occasions in the form of public speeches dealt with topical problems. In these writings and speeches we find some of his political ideas which are closely related to those circumstances in which Sir Syed lived. Though Sir Syed did not participate in any political organization and he rather focussed his attention purely on educational development of his community, because combating any political agitation was likely to jeopardize his campaign, yet he was aware that the inevitable result of education would be a political consciousness for the Muslim community. On a number of occasions Sir Syed was compelled to stand to the demand of situation and he gave his political consciousness for his country and he dared to speak on different issue which was the need of the time.

A close examination of the political conditions of the 19th century India in which Sir Syed wrote extensively and delivered his public speeches on these

¹⁴² Quoted by Mohsinul Mulk in his "Note on the Progress of the M.A.O. College during the year 1899-1909". Cited from S.K. Bhatnagar, op.cit., p. 128.

issues. will bring his political thought and ideas in relation to political condition of the time and it will also help us in understanding of the changing situation of 19th century of India –

(1) Urdu-Hindi Controversy

The most important event which took place in the first half of the 19th century was the Urdu-Hindi controversy. And Sir Syed strongly came out with his arguments in favour of Urdu language. It was during 1867 when the Hindu community put their claim to recognition of Hindi as an official language in place of Urdu and Persian. Mr. Babu Dinanath Ganguli, Secretary *Etawah Debating Club*, accused the *Aligarh British Indian Association* for advocating the use of Urdu as the standard vernacular language of the United Provinces.¹⁴³ One of the reason for adopting Hindi as the official language of the court and was to undermine the dominance of the Urdu speaking elite due to the political reasons British government was concerned to build up landlord power. Nevertheless, once the bureaucracy began to assume control over matters such as local posts, courts and police which were used to be in the hands of local magnates and just to cut down their power, Government in the close of 19th century introduced the *Nagari Resolution of 1900*¹⁴⁴.

But during Sir Syed's life in 1867, "Urdu-Hindi controversy was less mobilized among the Hindu community and Sir Syed viewed this movement with great horror and came to the conclusion that it was difficult for the two communities to live together. While trying to unite the two, he met the charges of the protagonists of Hindu and the campaign subsided for the time being. There were certain sober Hindus who doubted the sincerity of the protagonists of that, Pandit Sambhunath *Secretary Literary Society Fatehpur*, who knew the truth and admitted that of Hindi in Devanagari script if were introduced, the

¹⁴³ . AIG, January 24, 1868.

¹⁴⁴ See, Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims : The Politics of the United Provinces Muslims, 1860-1923*, Cambridge, CUP, 1974. Reprint edition, New Delhi : Vikas, 1975, pp. 32 to 83. (Hereafter, Robinson, *Separatism*).

general population would find many difficulty.¹⁴⁵ But inspite of this, Raja Sheoraj Singh of Kashipur who incited Hindus on the grounds that urdu deprived many of its words from Persian and Arabic that Nagri character may be written.... with same the facility as Persian and favoured the adaptation of Nagari as official language. But government did not listen to their clamour. When Sir Syed was alive this movement was calmed down but after his death, it was raised with stronger voices.

(2) Civil Service Examination

The other issue of discontent which both the community felt was the holding of the Civil Services Examination which was held in London and it was not held in India simultaneously. *The British Indian Association of Calcutta and Bombay*, submitted memorandum to the Government pleading to conduct Civil Services Examination in India also.¹⁴⁶ Sir Syed, a staunch supporter of British also extended his support to Surendranath Banerjee's¹⁴⁷ is struggle for the cause of holding the Civil Service examination in India.¹⁴⁸

(3) Election for Legislative Council

On the question of election for the Legislative Council and the representative Government, Sir Syed's did not favour and he held his opinion that it is unsuitable for the Indian condition, and wrote his comments in *Aligarh Institute Gazettee* about it.¹⁴⁹ Sir Syed made his position quite clear when in 1883, the

¹⁴⁵ . AIG, May 7, 1869.

¹⁴⁶ . Cited from S.Y. Shah, op.cit., p. 142.

¹⁴⁷ . S.N. Banerjee (1848-1928) was a Indian politician and nationalist leader born in a Kulin, high ranked Brahmin family in Kolkata. His father Durga Charan Banerjee was a medical practitioner. He got his education from Presidency College after his graduation, he went to England to sit for I.C.S. Examination. He passed and was posted in Sylhet (Bangladesh) as an assistant Magistrate. He was, however, soon dismissed from the post on the grounds of a technical impropriety in a report on his age, prepared by a subordinate, that Surendranath had failed to correct. It was a severe punishment for a minor oversight. He traveled to London to appeal his case in vain. He decided to try the next best course open to young educated Indians to sit for the Bar examination. He was denied admission. He decided to dedicate his life to political awakening in Bengal and in India, in accordance with his faith in the Western ideas of fairness and justice, serving the nation he died in 1925. See *Encyclopedia of India*, ed. by Stanley Wolpert, vol. 1, Thomson Gale, USA, 2006.

¹⁴⁸ . S.N. Banerjee, *A Nation in Making*, reprint edition (Calcutta, OUP, 1963), p. 45.

¹⁴⁹ . AIG, 4 Sept. 1874.

Legislative Council was debating a *Local Self Government Bill* for Central Provinces where the Muslims were in a small minority. He told the Council:

“The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population... in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the Local Boards and Districts Councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed, and the distinctions of caste form an important election in the socio-political life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election pure and simple cannot safely be adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community, and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever”.¹⁵⁰

Due to these reasons Sir Syed opposed the system of election.

(4) Indian National Congress

The other important issue of the 19th century was the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 which provided a platform for Indian people to put their grievances to the British government. But opposition of Indian National Congress by Sir Syed made him the most controversial figure in modern India. Sir Syed's attitude towards Indian National Congress became first time clear when he opened his political campaign against the Congress in December 1887. His first assault came with a speech in the Kaisharbagh Baradari during the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* at Lucknow. He said:

“It should be borne in mind that for a respected person to sit with the Viceroy in Council the essential requisite is the respectability of that person. Will the rich of our country tolerate that the members of the lower classes, even though they may have B.A. and M.A. Degrees and may possess enough competence, should rule over them and control their property and possession? Never, as no one would like it.

¹⁵⁰ Cited from Robinson, *Separatism*, op.cit., p. 118..

The membership of the Council is highly honorable, and the Government is bound to give it to none except respected gentlemen. The Viceroy cannot address an ordinary person as 'my colleagues' or 'my honourable colleagues', nor can he invite them to grand dinners and state functions in which great dignitaries like Dukes and Earls participate".¹⁵¹

In this speech Sir Syed's views were aristocratic and he seems to be the supporter of elite class in the Councils on the other hand he showed his hostility to the inclusion of elected representation in the Council and to its expansion. Here Sir Syed had his opinion about the election of representation in the council and such was demanded by the Indian National Congress, and thus Sir Syed thought it was unjust demand of the Congress and thus head raised his concerns about it and openly came against the Congress and its policies.

Sir Syed's keeping away from the Congress was also due to his educational scheme for which he was banking upon the British government for the promotion of various educational scheme for which he was afraid that his association with the anti-British Congress might possibly jeopardize his educational plans. Sir Syed expressed his fear in 1887 when he said:

"Where education in its modern sense had not made an equal or proportionate progress among all sections of population, the political agitations for the introduction of the principle of election would be attended with evils of greater significance".¹⁵²

In this way Sir Syed wanted that first Muslims should acquire education and then participate in politics

On the other hand Sir Syed also expressed his dissatisfaction against the Congress demands through the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, Sir Syed propagated his ideas and the Congress demand for the expansion of the Council and the

¹⁵¹ . Sir Syed's lecture at Lucknow, 28 December, 1887, See *Mukammal Majmuah Lectures wa Speeches 1863-1869*, edited by Mohammad Imamuddin Gujarati, Lahore, Mustafi Press, 1990, pp. 298-299 (Hereafter *Majmua Lectures*).

¹⁵² . See Sir Syed's Speech at the Imperial Legislative Council, 12th Jan. 1883, in *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 157.

holding of simultaneous competitive examination in India and England, Sir Syed wrote in *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in 1890. To quote:

“The first condition for the introduction of a competitive examination is that all people in that country should belong to one nation... the second requisite is that the different nationality of a country should be on an equal footing in respect of competition....”¹⁵³

He was afraid that due to educational disparity between Muhammadan and Bengalis all posts would be monopolized by Bengalese and even the non-Bengali Hindus who were more advanced than the Muslims in English education would not get a sufficient number of posts. To quote:

“...Can the Mohammadan cope with the Bengalis in higher English education? I ask the Hindus and Mohammadan of Bihar whether they are able to compete with the Bengalis. The answer is of course, in negative”.¹⁵⁴

Thus Sir Syed was very much aware of the advancement of the other community and he wanted the same for the Muslim community through education and that is why he opposed the agitational politics and demand of Congress to hold the competitive examination in India. He wanted parity of Muslims in education so that they could sit in the examination.

Due to these factors Sir Syed opposed the Congress and its agitational politics to save his movement of educational reform.

[I] All India Muslim Educational Conference and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed is generally known only as the founder of the present Aligarh Muslim University. Not many are aware of the fact that the farsighted Sir Syed, besides establishing the M.A.O. College, had for mass participation provided to the Indian Muslims a more widely educational platform in the form of *All India Muslim Educational Conference*. To provide equal educational opportunity to the Muslim masses all over India, Sir Syed started his vehicle of mobilizing the

¹⁵³ . AIG, March 1, 1890.

¹⁵⁴ . Ibid., 1890.

Muslim community in the educational movement through the *All Indian Muslim Educational Conference*.¹⁵⁵

Sir Syed's visit to England in 1869 and his close observation of the University of England particularly of Oxford and Cambridge had kindled him considerably that he decided to launch his educational movement in India with educational plans which he prepared in England. Therefore he considered necessary to unite and to organize all the existing societies¹⁵⁶ of 19th century India. Just to prepare a single platform to provide for the educational need of the Indian Muslims on all India basis.

Sir Syed did not approve the political character of some of the associations. For example the *Central National Muhammadan Association* of Amir Ali. Sir Syed believed that without gaining ground in education participation in politics would be a fatal mistake. He declined to participate in the *Central National Mohammadan Association's* meeting held in Lahore in 1888.¹⁵⁷ Conveying his ideas to Maulvi Niyaz Muhammad, an advocate from Lahore who was a trustee of M.A.O. College, he stated that he thought it "*improper for Muslims to take part in any political organization*".¹⁵⁸ But Sir Syed was in favour of an all India platform and for the same he advised Nawab Mohsinul Mulk to form an association exclusively for Muslims and to campaign for its membership before his arrival to India¹⁵⁹ as Sir Syed was in England when he wrote this letter to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk. And with the help of his associates, Sir Syed established the *All India Mohammadan Educational*

¹⁵⁵ Cited from *Introduction* by Mushirul Hasan, in *Akhtarul Wasey*, op.cit., p. V.

¹⁵⁶ Many societies existed during the 19th century e.g. Scientific Society Aligarh (1864), Banaras Institute (1864), Anjuman-e-Punjab (1865), and Delhi Literary Society (1869), Muhammadan Literary Society Calcutta (1863), The Central Muhammadan Association of Amir Ali (1877) Calcutta.

¹⁵⁷ Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference; Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of Indian Muslim 1886-1947*, New Delhi, OUP, 2001, p. 1 to 25 (Hereafter, Abdul Rashid Khan)

¹⁵⁸ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Khutut-e-Sir Syed*, ed. By Sayyid Ross Masud, Badaun: Nizami Press, 1931, pp. 274-77 (Hereafter *Khutat-i-Sir Syed*).

¹⁵⁹ Sir Syed Ahmad to Mohsinul Mulk in *Khutut-i-Sir Syed*, Ibid., p. 83.

*Congress*¹⁶⁰ on 27th December 1886 at Aligarh. In its inaugural meeting, it was presided over by Maulvi Samiullah Khan the co-founder of the M.A.O. College.

The main objectives of the *Conference* were to popularize Western education among the Muslims of India so that they could take part in the social and cultural life of their country and could contribute to its material and intellectual advancement. Besides this, certain other items were also included in the list of its aims and objectives, for example concluding research on the traditional education of Muslims; publication of the biographies¹⁶¹ of reputed scholars and writers and tracing and preserving rare books written by the earlier Muslim savants'. It means that Sir Syed was not merely interested in modern education: he also wanted to revive and reform the traditional Muslim learning.¹⁶² From the very beginning the annual session of the Conference were held at various cities of the country under the Presidentship of the prominent personality of the time¹⁶³ and it helped in expanding the Educational horizon

¹⁶⁰ . In the inaugural meeting the All India Muslim Educational Conference was christened "Mohammedan Educational Congress". Later in its 5th meeting held at Allahabad from 28th to 30th December, 1890 under the Presidentship of Sardar Mohammad Hayat Khan, it accepted an amendment, seconded by Sir Syed, which read as follows :

This gathering feels that the name of this national educational body of ours, named Mohammedan Educational congress, creates various doubts in the minds of people, some misled by the word congress, having something in common with the political party of that name, Indian National Congress; others taking it on the other extreme to be a rival to it; whereas, in fact, it has nothing to do with either of the two. A change in its name therefore appears imperative, and it should be renamed "Mohammedan Educational Conference".

Later in its 10th meeting held at Shahjahanpur from 27th to 30th December, 1895, under the presidentship of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, an amendment, moved by Syed Mahmood, was passed:

"This Conference feels that in view of further elucidation of its educational aims and objectives which are before the Conference, the addition of 'Anglo-Oriental' be made to the name and from now on, it be called "Mohammedan Anglo Oriental Educational Conference".

In its 36th meet held at Aligarh in 1923, under the presidentship of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan an amendment was moved and passed to the effect that the word 'Mohammedan' be deleted from the name of the Conference in favour of the word 'Muslim'.

It was moved by Nawab Sadryar Jung Habib-ur-Rehman Khan sherwani. See Anwar Ahmad Marharawi (Ed.) *Muraqq-e-Conference* (Aligarh, 1935), p. 2.

¹⁶¹ . See Appendix (H) in Akhtarul Wasey, op.cit., pp. 85-94.

¹⁶² . See for details. *Akhtarul Wasey*, also see, Reyazur Rehman Khan Sherwani, *Introduction to All India Muslim Educational Conference*, in Seminar on Educational Needs of Indian Muslim and the Role of Aligarh Movement, ed by Ishrat Ali Qureshi. Duty Society, AMU, Aligarh, 1993, pp. 29-33 (Hereafter, *Ishrat Ali Qureshi*).

¹⁶³ . See Akhtarul Wasey, op.cit., pp. 51-53.

for the Muslim community. It was one of the vital aspects of Aligarh Movement to provide modern education to the Muslim masses.

In this way the *All India Educational Conference* played an important role in fulfilling the mission of Sir Syed. A large number of schools and colleges in different parts of the country owe their origin directly or indirectly to the Conference. Among such institutions *Shibli College*, Azamgarh, *Islamia College*, Etawah, *Shuaibia College* Agra and *Islamia College*, Sikandra Rao district Aligarh is noteworthy. The *Conference* also extended full support to the management of *Nadwatul Ulama* Lucknow. In this way it served the very purpose of Sir Syed educational mission not for only to the elite class but also extend its needs to the masses.

CHAPTER - II

**POST SIR SYED ALIGARH
AND
NAWAB MOHSINUL MULK**



**Nawab Mohsinul Mulk (Honorary Secretary)
M.A.O. College, Aligarh
1898-1907**

CHAPTER – II

POST SIR SYED ALIGARH AND NAWAB MOHSINUL MULK

Under the dynamic leadership of the pioneer of Aligarh Movement, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the Muslim community had experienced radical changes in their socio- religious domain. Sir Syed was able to convince his co-religionists to adopt the new system of British education. His relentless and firm efforts made him successful in laying the foundation of the M.A.O. College in 1877 despite various obstacles on his way. One of the major aims of Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was to have a university not less than the European universities like Oxford and Cambridge and for this, he channelized all his energy to make his educational movement a successful movement. But after his death his movement got hampered and the Muslim community lost a great leader and *Messiah* who worked for their betterment not only in the educational advancement, but also worked for their socio-economic and political emancipation. However Sir Syed had a band of friends and followers who considered it worthwhile to take up the unfulfilled task of the founder of Aligarh Movement. Among them a dynamic personality was of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, who succeeded Sir Syed and followed the same footstep as set by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the efforts and achievements of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who emerged as the leader of Muslim community after Sir Syed's death. How far he was able to follow the tasks as left by his elder and to what extent he achieved the same is taken up in this chapter. The steps and struggles for the cause of Muslim community taken by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk forms the theme of this chapter.

[A] Biographical Sketch of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk

Nawab Mohsinul Mulk belonged to *BarhaSyeds*¹ of Etawah. His ancestors settled there for many generations whose worldly fortune did not stand at the beginning of the 19th century. Mir Zamin Ali², the father of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was not a literate person himself, however was married to the daughter of Mahmood Ali, an eminent scholar of the time and who had risen to be a minister at the court of the principality of Tonk. A son was born in the family of Mir Zamin Ali on 9th December, 1837 at Etawah³ (U.P.), whom they fondly named Syed Mehndi Ali. According to the best traditions of education in those days, Syed Mehndi Ali was given a thorough grounding from a very early age both in Persian and Arabic and at the same time a Moulvi taught him to read the *Quran*. He was also put under the supervision of Moulvi Inayat Husain and later Moulvi Salamatullah Cawnpuri the most famous scholars of the time in that district but due to the strained circumstances of the family and poverty, he could not continue his studies.⁴

The Syeds of Barha are descendents of Abul Farah, of Wasit in Iraq; several hundred years ago, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly. Abul Farah and his twelve sons came from Wasit to Mughal Empire, settling at first in four villages near Patiala, in the sarkar of Sirhind and subah of Delhi. From these villages the four branches, into which they are divided, derive their names. Then crossing the Yamuna, they formed a settlement on the eastern side of the upper Doaba, half way between Mirat and Saharanpur, in a sandy, unproductive piece of country, possibly at that time very sparsely inhabited. The etymology of the name Barha is disputed; perhaps it is from the word bara (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages. Some of their descendants settled in Delhi, but some returned to their villages. The Sayyids who remained in Delhi came to be called shahrwala, and those who lived outside were called bahirwala or bahira, which was corrupted to Barha, which was further corrupted when some of them moved to the south to the city of Gulbarga and came to be known as Barey. From the time of Akbar the Great, the Syed caste were famous as military leaders, and by their bravery had acquired a hereditary right to lead the vanguard of the Mughal troops.

2. Mir Zamin Ali: He died in the age of 90 years. He was respected in both sects of Muslim community i.e. Shia and Sunni. When he died his funeral prayers were attended by both sects. See for details, Amin Ahmed Zubairy, *Tazkirah-e- Mohsin*, Jamia Barqi Press, Delhi, 1935, p.1
3. Etawah is a city on the Yamuna river in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India. It is the administrative headquarters of the Etawah district. It lies in the south-western portion of Uttar Pradesh 26°47' north latitude and 27°20' east longitude and forms a part of the Kanpur Division.
4. *Encyclopedia of Muslim Biography*, vol. III, ed by N.K. Singh, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2001, vol. III, p. 593. (Hereafter N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*).

The father Mr. Zamin Ali living in Etawah, struggled with insufficient means to support a large family and his son's education could not sustained beyond Arabic and Persian in a local *Madarsa*. At the age of seventeen Mehndi Ali shared the parental burden by earning Rs. 10 per month in the District Revenue Office of the *East India Company*. Studious by nature, he would sit in the office after closing time and would be busy learning the rules and regulations governing the work of the *Kutchery* of the Collector.⁵ One night, as the Collector was on his rounds of the city, he saw lights in one of the rooms of his office prompted by curiosity, the Collector went inside, and find the young Syed Mehndi Ali busy in learning the code of business. The Collector was very pleased and raised him to a job carrying a higher salary. Recalling his early days in service, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk told to Khan Bahadur Moulvi Bashiruddin. To quote:

“The real pleasure that I got out of a life on Rs. 10 a month, I have never experienced again in other posts that I have subsequently held with much higher salaries”.⁶

Allan Octavian Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, was the Collector of the district, took personal interest in the young intelligent and industrious Mehdi Ali and soon raised him to the post of *Sereshtedar*. Later Mehdi Ali got the post of *Tehsildar*, a post considered to be very high for an Indian Government servant. Mehdi Ali also topped his *Provincial Court Services Examination* in 1867 and thereafter was appointed as *Deputy Collector* in Mirzapur on a monthly salary of Rs. 340.⁷ In the last appointment, he proved a great success and the Collector of Mirzapur wrote in his confidential service book at the end of the year as follows:

“I am in a position to say with confidence that there is no other Government servant as intelligent as honest as Mehdi Ali”. Two years later there was famine and Mehdi Ali rose equal to the occasion, working tirelessly to render relief to the people of his district”.

5 . *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III, ed. By S.P. Sen. Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta. 1974, vol. III, p. 142 (Hereafter , S.P. Sen, *National Biography*).

6 . Cited from N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 594.

7 . Ibid, p.595.

Hume further wrote in his service book:

“As I am acquainted with the work and character of Moulvi Mehndi Ali, I have no hesitation in praising him wisdom, tolerance, tact, intelligence; these are some of his admirable qualities.... He has successfully accomplished the most difficult task, entrusted to him”.⁸

Mehdi Ali had a chance meeting with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who was then a Subordinate Judge at Banaras. Sir Syed developed a keen appreciation for young Mehdi Ali's talents and accomplishments and later recommended his name for appointment to a high Government post to Nawab Salar Jang of Hyderabad. In 1874 his services were required by His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and subsequently he was appointed as Finance Secretary of his State. The Government of the Nizam was running into debt and general disorder was rampant. Mehdi Ali employed his all energy and talents to improve the financial condition of the state and prepared a budget for the first time in the history of the State, and introduced a number of reforms and succeeded in creating a favourable balance between income and expenditure.⁹ He was also given the task of reforming the land revenue system of the state and equally he did with his hard-labour and honesty. His contribution to the development of the revenue of the state, earned him deep appreciation. It is said that, “...He reformed the land revenue system of Deccan state of Hyderabad as was done by the Todermal during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605).¹⁰ In recognition to his services the State of Hyderabad awarded the title of *Munir Nawaz Jung Bahadur* (1884), and *Nawab Mohsin-ud-Dowlah Mohsin ul Mulk* (1887) by the Nizam of Hyderabad.¹¹ On the occasion of the conferment of the honours to the Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Sir Syed expressed his happiness and appreciated the great services rendered by him to the Muslim community.¹²

8. A.O. Hume's Note on Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, in his confidential service book, cited from N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, vol. III, op.cit., p. 595.

9. S.P. Sen, *National Biography*, op.cit., p. 142.

¹⁰ See *Tazkirah-e- Mohsin*, op.cit, p.4

11. Sir Syed expressed happiness and appreciated for the great services of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk to the Muslim community, on the occasion of the conferment of the honours to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk. See AIG, April 9, 1888.

¹² See, (AIG), April 9, 1888.

In 1888, he visited England on State business and utilized this opportunity in studying the impact of modern education on the progress of the West, realizing that if the Indian Muslims were determined to find an honorable place in the national life of India, they must take to modern education.

Nawab Mohsinul Mulk also won praises from the English officials. Mr. Howell, the Resident to Nizam. In a dinner he said:

“...in the Nawab Mohsinul Mulk we have a statesman of shrewd hard-headed, practical ability, who has climbed steadily upward on each step of the official ladder and yet has retained sufficient versatility to represent His Highness Government in the very different sphere of official life in England, where he commanded as he does here, the respect and esteem of all those with whom he was brought in contact”.¹³

In 1893, he retired from the State of Hyderabad and decided to settle down permanently at Aligarh, in order to be of an assistant to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to help Sir Syed in spreading the message of Aligarh Movement and carrying out the social reforms and introducing Western education in the Muslim community.¹⁴ He remained Sir Syed's trustworthy and enduring companion till the end of his life.

[B] Post Sir Syed Aligarh and the Role of Mohsinul Mulk

After the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Muslim community lost a great Muslim leader and social reformer of 19th century India. The passing away of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan led the Muslim community in a state of despondency. The *Pioneer* quoted the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan:

“...the most salutary and fruitful as well as the most powerful political force that has moved the Mohammadan World of India, during last quarter of the century”.¹⁵

Paying his tribute to Sir Syed the Principal of M.A.O. College Theodore Morison said:

13 . See the AIG, February, 1889.

14 . Muhammad Amin Zubari, *Tazkirah-e-Mohsin*, Jamia Barqui Press, Delhi, 1935, pp. 1-16.

15 . *The Pioneer*, March 29, 1898.

“Neither in England nor in India have I met any man who inspired me with so strong a feeling of reverence”.¹⁶

Though Sir Syed had many friends and followers but only a few of them took interests in his educational mission of Aligarh Movement. The question arose about the succession of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. But it was easily solved. Sir Syed's two great supporters and later successors were Moulvi Syed Mehdi Ali and Moulvi Mushtaq Husain popularly known as Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk respectively. They had the same traditional upbringing and had the same traditional education and both served the British Government and later Hyderabad State. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was succeeded and who took the post of Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College after the death of Sir Syed and represented the Muslim community of 19th century India.¹⁷ But before the succession of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk there were many problems and crises emerged at Aligarh after the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The problem of succession of Secretaryship of M.A.O. College, the financial crisis of the College, the dropouts of the students and the publication of *Tahzibul Akhlaq*¹⁸ had stopped. There emerged the problem of leadership, and who would carry the educational mission of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan ahead. But with the great efforts and right vision of Mohsinul Mulk, who rose to the occasion and solved these crises and problems at M.A.O. College and became an undisputed leader of the Muslim community after the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

(1) Problem of leadership and Succession of Mohsinul Mulk as Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College

¹⁶ The Aligarh Monthly, July, 1906, p. 4.

¹⁷ See, Shaikh Muhammad Ismail Panipati, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, *Naqoosh Shakshiyat*, Number 2, p. 1385.

¹⁸ *Tahzibul Akhlaq* (Muslim Social Reformer), founded in December 1870. The name *Tahzibul Akhlaq* was inspired by the work of the Ibn Miskawaih bearing the same title. Its aim was 'to persuade the Muslims of India to embrace the highest form of civilization with a view to clearing them of the contempt with which the civilized world looks down upon them; and in order that they may be called civilized in the world'. For a brilliant review of the journal by Zakauallah, see *Tahzibul Akhlaq*, vol. 4, pp.117-24.

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Sir Syed's death unleashed a struggle for power among the successors of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Syed Mahmud, the founder's son and legal successor as Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College, Moulvi Samiullah Khan, a retired District Judge, who was a co-founder of the College but became Sir Syed's bitter enemy during his last days of Sir Syed because of the Sir Syed's choice of Syed Mahmud as the heir apparent for the post of Secretaryship after the death of Sir Syed. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, formally a high official in the State of Hyderabad and was now ambitious to find a role appropriate to his oratorical skills and finally Theodore Beck, the College's English principal who wanted greater control over a loyal institution i.e. M.A.O. College as it was supported by the British Government. The control of the College, though vested in the Board of Trustees comprising of sixty six members, was *de facto* administrator, but the control of over the College was managed by its two members, i.e. Honorary Secretary of the College and the Principal.¹⁹

There was no objection from any of the Trustees in the affairs of the College as long as Sir Syed was alive and functioned as the Secretary of the College throughout his life. After Sir Syed's death the problem came up when, Syed Mahmud, the son of Sir Syed took his father's place, when Sir Syed during his life time appointed Syed Mahmud as the Joint Secretary of the *College Committee* at which point he was in fact already working and when he named Syed Mahmud as the next *Honorary Life Secretary* of M.A.O. College after his death, through an amendments in the Trustees Bill of 1889 with the final approval of the Trustee.²⁰ The new constitution of 1889 provides extraordinary power to the new Honorary Life Secretary of the College and it also limits the power of Government's interferes in the matters of internal management of the College but it also enhanced its powers related to

19. MacDonnel to Elgin, 19th April 1898, Letter No. 216, Reel No. 11, (Microfilm copy) *Elgin Papers*, National Archives of India (NAI) New Delhi.

20. Sir Syed's speech in the fourth Annual Session of the *Mohammadan Educational Conference*, at Aligarh. See *Majma-i- Lectures*, op.cit., p. 362.

appointments and as power of Visitors of institutions.²¹ And thus Syed Mahmud occupied his father's place after his death in 1898 according to the article 46 of the Constitution of the College and began exercising the extensive powers as Secretary of M.A.O. College without the prior approval of the Board of Trustees, he appointed Theodore Beck as the Registrar of the College.²² This was resented by Moulvi Samiullah, the leader of the orthodox section of the Trustees who was an aspirant to the post of Secretary and was not on good terms with Theodore Beck. It was alleged that Samiullah wanted to have greater control over the College management, and it also alleged that he had conspiracy with Nawab of Rampur when he went there to improve the finances of the College and he had a secret dealing with the Nawab of Rampur that he should donate Rs. 50,000 to the College on condition that he was authorized to appoint the Honorary Secretary of the College, and the members of the European staff. Samiullah denied this allegation and attributed it to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk's fertile imagination and even Samiullah referred to a letter which Mohsinul Mulk was alleged to have written to Lieutenant Governor against him on August 6, 1898. Sir James La Touch, the Lieutenant Governor of North-West Provinces, was so much annoyed with Samiullah that he refused to meet him and Moulvi Samiullah Khan had no alternative but to sever his connection with the College.²³ And in view of the opposition to Samiullah, who could command considerable support from the Mohammadan landlords of Aligarh, the Theodore Beck felt that the College would not thrive as long as Syed Mahmud continued as Secretary of M.A.O. College²⁴ and even feared that

See *Draft of the Rules and Regulations for Appointment of the Trustees of the M.A.O. College and the Manner of their Working, May 1889, Aligarh Papers*. (Sir Syed Archives). (Henceforth *Drafts Rules of 1889*), Schedule No.3 Clause Nos.144-9.

22. MacDonnel to Elgin, 19th April, 1898, loc.cit.

23. See for details S.K. Bhatnagar, *History of the M.A.O. College*, Aligarh. Bombay. Asia Publishing House, 1969, p. 119 (Hereafter S.K. Bhatnagar, M.A.O. College).

24. LaTouch, Officiating Lieutenant Governor of North West Provinces and Oudh to Elgin, 12th May, 1898, Letter No. 268, *Elgin Papers* Reel No. 11 (NAI).

the failure of the College would be a “disaster of great magnitude”, not only to the Muslims of U.P. region but also for all the Muslims of British India.²⁵

And because of the British Government’s policy of appeasement to Muslim and to protect the College and to have a greater control over the College (because of the Lt. Governor of North West Provinces was chief patron and visitor of the M.A.O. College), MacDonnell then Lieutenant Governor of North Western Provinces convened a meeting of Syed Mahmud and Theodore Beck at Allahabad on 4th May 1898 and discussed the possibilities of streamlining the account and the reorganization of the administrative set up of the College.²⁶ He also visited the College on 20 May 1898 to make an in-depth study of the problem. He realized that the orthodox members of the Board of the Trustees were not only critical of Syed Mahmud’s taking over the post of Secretary from his father as “a private inheritance”, but also of Beck’s role in the management of the College, which they felt should have been by the “best men” from the Muslim community.²⁷ The Government was in dilemma because the removal of Syed Mahmud though necessary, was not easy, since it needed 2/3 support from the member of the Board of Trustees. If the Government succeeded in removing Syed Mahmud, the Viceroy feared that Samiullah, an orthodox leader might succeed in getting elected as the Secretary whom would be “nothing less than a misfortune”, for he might turn Aligarh into a center of orthodoxy and oriental education.²⁸ Viceroy was exploring the means of solving the problem. Theodore Beck, was finding it difficult to pull on smoothly with Syed Mahmud.²⁹

The close associates of Sir Syed disliked Syed Mahmud due to his ‘incurably drunken habits’.³⁰ Theodore Beck’s plan was to create a new post of

25. Ibid.

26. MacDonnell to Elgin, 5th May, 1898, Letter No. 252, *Elgin Papers*.

27. La Touch to H.B. Smith, Private Secretary to Viceroy, 20th June 1898, Letter No. 315, *Elgin Papers*.

28. H.B. Smith to La Touch, 15th June 1898, Letter No. 299 (Ibid).

29. For details, see Habibullah Khan, *Hayat-e-Aftab* (Allahabad, 1907), p. 48-49.

30. MacDonnell to Curzon, 31st August, 1900, Letter No. 89, *Curzon Papers*, Reel No. 8 (Microfilm copy) Nehru Museum Library (NML).

President for Syed Mahmud and offer the post of Secretary to Mohsinul Mulk whose views were in "in accordance accord" with that of Government and the policy of Sir Syed".³¹ While Syed Mahmud was to remain as life President, the tenure of the Secretary was fixed for a period of three years. The duties of life President was restricted only to preside over the meetings of the Board of Trustees and appointing the European staff as these were the amendments proposed by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk in April 1898 to the Rules and Regulation of the College.³²

Sir James LaTouche, wrote to Syed Mahmud on July 21, 1898:

"... First, I advise that they (the Trustees) shall offer to you and that you should accept the office of the *Life Honorary President of the College*, secondly, the duties of the *Life Honorary President* should, I think, be confined to presiding over the meetings of the Trustees and directing the appointment of European staff".³³

A session was convened on 31st January 1899 in the Stretchy Hall (an assembly hall of the College) under the chairmanship of Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan to discuss the matter. And during the session of the meeting on 31st January 1899, the matter was put to elect the Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College. Trustees elected Nawab Mohsinul Mulk as Honorary Secretary, and demanded resignation of Syed Mahmud, and offered him the post of Honorary President. From morning till evening a very heated discussion took place and at last, a dramatic scene happened when Syed Mahmud left the Hall and behind Mohsinul Mulk, followed him and took Syed Mahmud's hand in a choking voice and said: "you and I have been friends for the last 30 years. I will accept the Secretaryship only if you agree, and with these words he bent down and put his cap on Syed Mahmud's feet. Syed Mahmud raised his head and asked: 'Mehdi, why did you say?' Tears were rolling down on Mohsinul Mulk checks and replied, 'None can save the nation's boat (College) from sinking except you'. Syed Mahmud said, 'If you suggest so, I agree to it' They embraced each

31 . La Touch to H.B. Smith, 27th July 1898, Letter No. 48, *Elgin Papers*, op.cit., Reel No. 11.

32 . S.K. Bhatnagar, M.A.O., op.cit., p. 119.

33 . Ibid.

other, and Syed Mahmud surrendered his right to Mohsinul Mulk and despondency of the Trustees turned into joy and on this way the crisis problem of Secretaryship of MAO was solved.³⁴ Thus it was the geniuses of the Nawab Mohsinul Mulk that a crucial problem was solved and the College's management came on the right hand.

(2) Posthumous Working of M.A.O. College and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk (1898-1907)

The magnetic personality of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had gathered round himself a galaxy of quick witted, vigorous and enthusiastic well-wishers who worked behind him for his Aligarh Movement. The name of Moulvi Samiullah Khan, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk appeared as staunch supporters of Sir Syed and his the educational movement for his community. After Sir Syed's death they carried out his movement ahead. The name of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk came first in the list of his supporters who succeeded Sir Syed and worked zealously to carry out his mission during the life time of Sir Syed and also after his departure to the heavenly abode. Posthumously Sir Syed's mission was tactfully carried out by his successors and supporters.

The well-wishers of Sir Syed initiated a series of steps to accomplish the dreams of Sir Syed to establish a university. At the meeting of the Board of Management of the M.A.O. College held on 31 March 1898, soon after the death of Sir Syed, Aftab Ahmed Khan³⁵ (1867-1930) a former student of the M.A.O. College made the earliest move when he placed a resolution to form an endowment of Rs. ten lakhs (to be named as Sir Syed Memorial Fund) with a view to pay off the debts of the College³⁶ and raised it to the status of a

34. See for details, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Mushahidat wa Tasurat*, Aligarh, p.159, Also see, Shan Mohammad, *Political Biography*, op.cit., p. 89.

35. Aftab Ahmed Khan (1867-1930) He was an alumni of the M.A.O. who was admitted to the M.A.O. College in 1878; joined Christ's College, Cambridge and entered Inner Temple London for Bar at Law. 1994; Trustee M.A.O. College, member of almost every committee; a very prominent educationist and administrator, member of Council of India of the Secretary of the State, 1917; represented Indian Muslims at the Paris Conference along with Agha Khan and Abdullah Yusuf Ali. He was the Vice Chancellor of AMU in 1924-25.

36. At the time of the death of Sir Syed, the college was indebted to the extent of about Rs. 50,000 on account of loans besides outstanding debts of Rs. 13,000 and liabilities on account of the

University.³⁷ Besides he also proposed the name of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk for the post of *President of Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee*.³⁸ The motive of Aftab Ahmed Khan was to save the College from financial crisis and then expand it to a university which could fulfill the desire of the founder. Therefore he proposed the name of Mohsinul Mulk for the post of President.

Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee was constituted with Mohsinul Mulk as its President, Aftab Ahmed Khan and the Collector of Aligarh as its Secretary and Treasurer respectively.³⁹ Though several Local Fund Committees were also formed⁴⁰ but the flow of the fund was very slow. It was because of the attitude and apprehension of the people as well as the press towards the scheme of the proposed university.⁴¹ At this juncture, British Government obviously influenced by the loyalist attitude of Aligarh leadership extended its cooperation to rescue the College. The Lieutenant Governor of N.W. Provinces requested the Viceroy to make contribution to the funds so as to "stimulate donations"⁴² even the Viceroy also contributed a sum of Rs. two thousand to the Sir Syed Memorial Fund.⁴³ La Touch, then the acting Lieutenant Governor of N.W. Provinces also reiterated the readiness of the Government to aid the College and donated a fund of hundred rupees to the Fund Committee⁴⁴. The official contributions motivated wealthy natives of India too, to donate money for the University Fund. In this respect Nawab of Rampur made a donation of half a lakh of rupees and increased the monthly grant of the College from one

Trust fund lost in embezzlement bringing up the total indebtedness to about a lakh rupees. See an address presented by Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee to Lt. Governor at Aligarh on 23rd July 1898 in *Muslim Chronicle*, 13th August 1898, p. 888 (Microfilm copy), Reel No. 2.

37. See the report of the Proceedings of a meeting of the Board of Management of M.A.O. College held at Aligarh, 31st March 1898, *Muslim Chronicle*, 9th April, 1898, p. 614.

38. Ibid.

39. For details of the rules and regulation of the Committee, See *Muslim Chronicle*, 11th Feb. 1889, p. 88 and 25th Feb. 1899, pp. 104-5 (Microfilm copy) Reel No. 3.

40. For details see *Muslim Chronicles*, 11th April, 1898, p. 632. Reel No. 2.

41. See the "Oudh Punch" Akhbar (Lucknow) 16 August 1899 in S.V.N.N.W.P., p. 444.

42. La Touch to H.B. Smith, 20th June 1898, letter No. 315, *loc.cit.*

43. Elgin to La Touch, 13th July 1898, Letter No. 16 (*Elgin Papers*), (EP), Reel No. 12.

44. See the speech of La Touch delivered at M.A.O. College on 23rd July 1898, *Selections from Speeches*, Sir J.J.D. La Touch: Lieutenant Governor of U.P. 1901-1906 (Nainital: U.P. govt., 1906), p. 17.

to two hundred rupees.⁴⁵ The queen of England also expressed her willingness to send a "small contribution" to the College for she considered the Muslims to be "politically the most loyal to the British Crown".⁴⁶ The Viceroy, Lord Curzon, preferred to watch the proposed scheme with a "friendly eye".⁴⁷ He considered that the movement must be patronized and supported first by the "natural supporters" viz. the leading Mohammedans, princes, nobles, and wealthy men and in due course, he would indicate his sympathy.⁴⁸

The Aligarh leadership had already become aware of the importance of approaching well-to-do Muslims and the members of royal families for funds. They knew that the official patronage, though essential was not enough for raising the huge resources required for the expansion of the College into a university. The members of the Fund Committee submitted a memorandum to the Nizam Government stating that for the "honor of Islam and Muslims of India", it was necessary to raise the College into a university and sought financial aid from him.⁴⁹ With a view to attract more donations, the Aligarh leadership tried to publicize the idea of Muslim University by passing a resolution in favor of it at the 12th session of the *Mohammadan Anglo Oriental Educational Conference* in 1899.⁵⁰ The Muslim press also helped in publicizing the cause of Aligarh. *Al-Bashir* observed:

"The establishment of such a university will make British rule stable in the country not only by providing civilizing and loyalty engendering education for Indian Musalmans but also for the wild frontier tribesmen and Afghans. The greatest dangers which the British Government at present dreads in India come from the North West Frontier. Should Russia invade India, the power which is supported by the Afghans and the Frontier tribes will certainly be very strong. Now to make sure of the permanent goodwill of these Afghan people, a mere appeal to their

45. La Touche to H.B. Smith, 30th July 1898, letter No. 56 (CP) Reel No. 12.

46. Queen Empress to Viceroy of Indian, dated 17th Jan. 1899, letter No. 6, vol. I, *Curzon Papers* (C.P.), Reel No. 1.

47. Curzon to Queen Empress, 23rd February 1899, Letter No. 6, Vol. II. Ibid.

48. Curzon to Queen Empress, 5th July 1899, Letter No. 19, Ibid. However Curzon made a contribution of one thousand rupees to the Construction of the College hospital building. Morison to Lawrence, Private Secretary to Viceroy, 6th August 1906, Ibid, Reel No. 3.

49. See Memorandum from College Fund Committee, 18th Feb. 1900 to S.G. Bilgrami, Director of Public Instructor of Nizam Government, File No. 5, *Bilgrami Papers* (B.P.).

50. See the *Resolution* No. III in *Moslem Chronicle*, 7th June 1899, Reel No. 3, p. 6.

greed is not sufficient; but steps should be taken to grain their new generations with feelings of love and affections towards the British Government and this object will be best served if orders are issued to the political officers to induce the Afghan people to send their sons for education to the Aligarh College".⁵¹

By November 1901, *Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee* collected about Rs. 1,27,000 of which Rs. 55,620 were spent on clearing of the debts of the College⁵² and the remaining small amount was too meager to go ahead with the expansion of the College for the University. Moreover, with the publication of the report of *Indian University Commission*⁵³ in 1902 that clarified the official reaction to the proposal of University and showed cold response for the establishment of University. The Commission observed:

"It does not appear that these proposals have received the support which would be necessary to give the scheme a practical character. And even if resources adequate to the formation of a complete university were forthcoming, it is for the Government to decide as to expediency of creating a denominational university. In the present circumstances of India, we hold that while no obstacle should be placed in the way of denominational Colleges, it is important to maintain the undenominational character of the University".⁵⁴

With this official reaction to the proposed university the Commission was not in favor of the establishment of Muslim university during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and thus the prospects of University was hampered the goal of establishing University and it remained a distant dream for the time being and the campaign of Muslim university was stopped due to the other reasons also, and the task was fulfilled by Sir Syed's successors in the later phase of the Aligarh Movement

51. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) 7th August 1899 in S.V.N.N.P.O., p. 433.

52. S.K. Bhatnagar, *M.A.O. College*, op.cit., pp. 175 to 176.

53. It had seven members: (two of them being Indians) Thomas Raleigh (Chairman), Syed Husain Bilgrami, J.P. Hewett (Secretary to the Govt. of India), A. Pedler (D.P.L. Bengal), A.C. Boune (Principal of Presidency College), Rev. E. Makichan (Principal, of Wilson College, Bombay) and Justice Goorudas Banerjee. The Commission was constituted to enquire into the condition and prospects of university established in British India and to recommend measures to improve the standard of University teachings. See the Government Resolution, 29th January 1902 in *Report of Indian University Commission*, 1904, *Miscellaneous Papers*, vol. V, Part I.

54. *Report of Indian University Commission*, 1902, vol. I, pp. 7-8.

(C) Mohsinul Mulk and the All India Muslim Educational Conference

The *All India Muslim Educational Conference* had played a vital role in disseminating modern education among the Muslims in India. It was the vehicle which carried door to door the message of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his Aligarh Movement and spear-headed its activities for educational development among the Muslims. The inaugural session of the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* held on 27 December 1886 in Aligarh College and was presided over by Moulvi Samiullah Khan, the co-founder and a trustee of the College. In this historic session of the Conference Sir Syed Ahmed presented his first resolution regarding the educational needs of the Muslims of India. To quote Sir Syed:

“Gentlemen: the degeneration of Muslims has attained a stage when you can’t find a single person who doesn’t recognize and lament over it. On deplorable condition moves the nations and communities to tears and prompts them to collect alms for the education of our children... so the question arises how this educational uplift is to be achieved...”⁵⁵

Therefore Sir Syed spearheaded the cause of the Muslim education through the vehicle of the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* and he initiated a practical step to achieve his educational mission for the advancement of Muslim community and various schools and colleges established in the Muslim localities particularly through the efforts of Sir Syed’s Educational conference. But after his death it was difficult to find a suitable leader to run the activities of the conference but soon a leader was found to run the conference in Mohsinul Mulk. Mohsinul Mulk had been associated with the work of the Conference from the time of its foundation and he had already presided over the annual sessions of the *Conference* in 1893 and 1896, so he assumed the reins of office of the *Conference* with confidence and courage.⁵⁶

After 1896 the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* would probably have dwindled into insignificance but due to the efforts of Mohsinul Mulk the

55. See Sir Syed’s resolution at the first annual session of All India Muslim Educational Conference, 1886, Aligarh.

56. N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 595.

Conference was survived. Even during the Sir Syed's life when Sir Syed Ahmed was getting hopeless about its activities and was moreover obsessed with the tragedy of embezzlement of the College funds, it was Mohsinul Mulk who correctly gauged the utility and advantages of the organization and decided to infuse a new life into it.⁵⁷ Mohsinul Mulk knew that a few defects had crept into it. Prominent among them was the feeling that the *Conference* was an organization of the Aligarh College and it did not pay any attention to the local requirements of the other places. The Conference had further tended to become a *Bazm-i-Mushaira* and had lost touch with the local units. The Muslim masses also did not know much about it on the account of the absence of propaganda.⁵⁸

The first work of Mohsinul Mulk was to maintain the impression that the *Conference* was not for the purpose of Aligarh College and that is why his efforts to make the M.A.O. College an all India institute and the *Mohammedan Educational Conference* was not only an organ of M.A.O. College but it should be an organization of all Muslim schools and Colleges in India.

Of the nine sessions held during his tenure as Secretary, only one was held at Aligarh. The three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were venues of the session of the Conference but during life time of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Sindh, Burma was also brought within the jurisdiction of the Conference. Thus he gave Conference and All India status and thereby made the conference as a vehicle of educational movement on all India basis which was totally absent during the life time of its founder. In order to remove another defect, Mohsinul Mulk started the practice of ventilating the local grievances also through the platform of the Conference and thereby made the people of various localities interested in it.⁵⁹

57. In '*Oudh Punch*' See the Report of All Indian Muslim Educational Conference in 1896.

58. M.S. Jain, op.cit., p. 172.

59. Ibid., p. 173.

In the thirteenth *Mohammedan Educational Conference* which was held at Calcutta in 1895 under the Presidentship of Justice Syed Ameer Ali, here resolutions were passed related to the general education of Bengal and it was discussed to reform the *Madrasa-i-Aaliya*.⁶⁰ And at Madras session in 1901, which was 9th session of the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* resolutions relating to the reform of the *Madrasa-i-Azam* was passed. Badruddin Tayyabji while speaking from the presidential chair of the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* in 1907 at Bombay said that the Conference was not opposed to the interests of the Muslims of different provinces and areas. The Dacca Session of the *Conference* in 1906 passed a number of resolutions relating to the interests of the Muslims of Eastern Bengal was assessed.⁶¹ Mohsinul Mulk also carried out a number of organizational changes into the Conference. He established a Central Standing Committee at Aligarh to carry out the activities of the Conference all the year round. Local Standing Committees were organized again and a new life was infused in them. A separate office of the Conference with a salaried staff was also established to make the Conference a more organized body. He undertook a tour of various provinces of India with a view to enlisting the sympathies of the Muslims for the *Conference* to propagate its ideas among the Muslim masses as set by Sir Syed.⁶²

The proposal for a Muslim university was fully discussed at the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* at Lahore in December 1898 under the Presidentship of Nawab Fatch Ali Khan Qizalbash Musa, who proposed that a Muslim University should be founded. Badruddin Tayyabji gave Rs. 2000 to the university and from Calcutta Syed Amir Ali pledged his support.⁶³

60. *The All India Muslim Educational Conference (Selected Presidential Addresses 1886-1947)* ed. Shan Mohammad. New Delhi, APH Publishing House, 2003, p. 44.

61. M.S. Jain, op.cit., p. 173.

62. Ibid., p. 174.

63. *Intekhab Report Muhammedan Educational Conference darbar Muzawaza Mohammedan University* (Agra, 1899), cited from David Leliveld, op.cit., p. 149.

Mohsinul Mulk made the platform of the Conference a vehicle to reach the masses and used the same for his educational movement. He began to garner the support of the Muslim community for the University Movement through the Conference's platform. In December 1895 the *Conference* moved out from Upper India and met in Calcutta under the presidentship of Justice Amir Ali. In this way, Mohsinul Mulk's effect brought a change in the development of Aligarh Movement through the platform of *All India Muslim Educational Conference* and even funds were collected from different places for the University Movement from different places like Dacca, Calcutta, Bombay, Jhansi etc. and help and cooperation was extended from the Muslim community for the University Movement through the efforts of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and thus Mohsinul Mulk gave a new life to Aligarh Movement by making the All India Educational Movement and organ of Aligarh Movement.

(D) Mohsinul Mulk and Muslim Loyalty

Sir Syed's efforts throughout his life was to maintain a friendly attitude towards the rulers of the time and he never hesitated to extend his cooperation to the British Government because he wanted the same kind of support and cooperation from the British Government as he had already seen the plight of the Muslims after the revolt of 1857 by which British had afflicted humiliation to the Muslim community. In this respect Sir Syed was opposed to any agitational movement against British Government and he was very much conscious in his policy of maintaining Muslim loyalty towards British Government. He founded a loyal political body the *United Patriotic Association* and *Anglo-Oriental Defence Association* to get cooperation and mutual understanding from the British Government. He did not favored the agitational politics of Congress, as he considered it suicidal for the country and he exhorted his community not to involve in any anti-British agitation like Congress and gave the ideal of Muslim loyalty and cooperation to his community with British Government. The path of Muslim loyalty shown by

Sir Syed was accordingly followed by his successor Nawab Mohsinul Mulk throughout his life and he never deviated the task given by his ideal.

During the life time of Sir Syed, in 1885 when the Russian forces were preparing to attack India to oust the British, Muslims were said to support the Russians. But Mohsinul Mulk assured the British Government of Muslim loyalty and faithfulness. He wrote an article in 1885 named '*Mohammedan Loyalty*' in which he assured the British Government of Muslim loyalty and he got appreciation from the British Government for the same.⁶⁴ On the occasion of a dinner Mohsinul Mulk delivered a speech in Salar Jang's Palace on July 12, 1887, and said:

"We are firm well-wisher of the British cause. We believe British rule to be a blessing as well as a protection for India. All progress in civilization, knowledge, science and arts which has been made in India during past years is entirely due to the English and for what we have required from them in administrative and social affairs we are grateful..."⁶⁵

Similarly in 1897, when the Turkish forces triumphed over the British, Indian Muslims celebrated Turkey's victory with great enthusiasm. Sir Syed in an article "India and English Government" told the Muslims with convincing arguments that there was no justification of their being opposed to British. He reminded to the Muslims to be faithful to those under whom we live as their subjects and enjoy peace and to dispel from our mind any idea of disloyalty.⁶⁶ So this was the lesson which had been given by Sir Syed to his successors and the Muslim community of Muslim loyalty and it was followed by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk.

On the other hand the British policy towards West Asia had become very hostile to Islamic countries. On the question of *Tabah* (a place in Arabia) in which Turkey and Egypt were involved, the British gave an ultimatum to Turkey and sided with Egypt which it had already taken under its wing. The British move in Sudan was also highly resented by the Muslims and a hue and

64 . AIG, March 28 and June 1885.

65 . AIG, 6 August 1887.

66 . AIG, Sept. 18, 1897.

cry against British policy was raised. In 1911 when Italy attacked Tripoli which was under the possession of Turkey now known as Libya and when Turkey desired to move its armies to Tripoli through Egypt the British disallowed it. There was great resentment among Aligarh students when British Government announced to support Italy.⁶⁷ The students of the M.A.O. College collected funds for Tripoli. They pointed with their costly dresses, suspended rich diet and contributed to fund. On November 21, 1912, a meeting of the staff and students was held under the Presidentship of Mr. Towle (Principal of M.A.O. College) to sympathize with the Turks. On Nov. 17, 1912 Dr. M.A. Ansari, who led to a medical mission to Tripoli, visited Aligarh and collected Rs. 6,000 for medical aid.⁶⁸

Pan Islamism was again on the stir after a lapse of a decade played an important role in arousing the Muslim brotherhood against the British occupation in West Asia. Even a pro Pan Islamic weekly was published from Aligarh student Hasarat Mohani⁶⁹ since 1903. The Russian defeat by the Japanese had further encouraged the idea that the western powers were not 'invincible' and the Amir of Afghanistan was alleged to have a secret alliance with Indian Muslims to overthrow the British Raj because of this, the employment of Mohammadan troops in war with Turkey was a source of anxiety to the Government. Muslims also raised their voice of protest against the war with Turkey and the position was further aggravated by fears of interference by Afghanistan. This strained relations between the Government and Muslims.⁷⁰

67. K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 50.

68. M.A.O. College Report for the year 1912-13, pp. 2-3.

69. Hasrat Mohani (1875-1950): Born at District Unnao, educated at M.A.O. College, Aligarh; opposed the British Raj and through poetry and prose he vehemently criticized its functioning, started *Urdu-i-Moalla* and joined Congress and never missed its annual session, belonged to the extremist group of Bal Gangadhar Tilak arrested many times for his anti-Government activities and was given the harshest punishment.

70. Shan Mohammad, *Sir Syed's Successor*, op.cit., p. 34.

To convince the Government of Muslim loyalty Mohsinul Mulk wrote an open letter to his co-religionists telling them that the Indian Muslims may have loved the Sultan of Turkey but he could not be their Khalifa. He wrote:

“The Sultan cannot exercise any of the powers and prerogatives of the Khalifa over the Mohammadans of this country nor are they in any manner bound by their religion to obey Sultan. They are subjects of the King Emperor and owe their allegiance to him alone. The commands of the King Emperor are religiously binding upon them”.

He further said:

“It should be remembered that sympathy for religion and for a community is quite distinct from political relations. It is not necessary that those who loved the Sultan because he is of the same religion should not also be loyal and faithful to the British Government under which they live. Nor does it follow that because we are the subjects of the British Government, we should not wish for the safety of the Sultan or other Mussalman Ruler and be sorry for them if anything happens to them. Loyalty towards our Government does not exclude the idea of sympathy with one's religionists. Those who think that two are exclusive of each other are ignorant, both of their religious duties and of their political relations”.

Assuring the Government of Muslim Loyalty he concluded:

“If ... there be a war between our Government and any Mohammadan power, we should, as loyal subject be on the side of our own Government, but as a Mohammadan we should also be said about it”.⁷¹

Muslim loyalty to British Government as reflected through the ideas of Mohsinul Mulk earned him as a traitor and some of the Muslim repudiated him as their leader. While others did not hesitate to say that he wanted to gain Government favour. A section of the Muslim Press said that the Congress leaders in spite of their opposition received Government posts and titles. One of them Editor asked “if the opponents of the Government and the agitators, are rewarded why are we, who have steadfastly upheld the Government, left out in the cold? They proposed to form a Mohammadan Congress on the same lines as the Hindus, or to join the Indian National Congress.”⁷² But in spite of all these

⁷¹ AIG, June 20, 1906.

⁷² AIG, August 19, 1906.

opposition to he remained stuck to his policy of maintaining friendly attitude and followed Sir Syed's footsteps of Muslim loyalty to British Government.

(E) **Mohsinul Mulk and Growth of Muslim Political Aspirations**

Sir Syed considered politics a taboo for the Muslims as he was more concerned about education but in the changed scenario it was not possible to adhere to the policy of Sir Syed. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who is generally considered a loyalist, was the first to break the ice. The chance was provided when Urdu-Nagri Controversy came onto surface and which stirred the political silence of the Aligarh leadership. Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Lieutenant Governor (1895-1901) of (N.W. Provinces) was hostile to Muslims for their allegiance to the Caliph in Turkey and accused them of disloyalty to the British. He told Curzon, the Viceroy of India (1895-1909) "we are far more interested in a Hindu predominance than a Mohammed as predominance"⁷³ and after that he issued a notification on April 21, 1900 allowing the use of Devanagari script and laid down that no person should be appointed except in a purely English office, to any ministerial appointment, unless he could read and write both Nagri and Persian character.⁷⁴

The decision threatened Muslims more than others because they thought that they would be displaced from Government services gradually. Protests meetings were held in different places.⁷⁵ Mohsinul Mulk, the leader of the Muslims stepped into scene by organizing *Urdu Defence Association* in 1900 and became its president and channelized all his energy to raise the Muslim grievances in a constitutional manner. It infuriated MacDonnell because that was the first time in the Muslim politics that a leader of Aligarh participated against the British Government. Curzon had already instructed the Lieutenant

73. MacDonnell to Curzon, 18th May 1900, Letter No. 213, C.P. Reel No. 9.

74. See the copy of resolution of Government of N.W. Provinces and Oudh on the use of script in courts and offices dated 21st April Allahabad, 1900, see also Sir Syed Archives (Aligarh Papers).

75. The first meeting was held at the residence of Mohsinul Mulk at Aligarh to consider the resolution of the Government over the use of Urdu script, the meetings were also held at Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Moradabad etc. See AIG, 7th May, 1901.

Governor of U.P. that grant in-aid should not be given to any educational institution, whose managers, teachers or students remained connected to any political organization or movement.⁷⁶ A meeting was called on May 13, 1900 under the Presidentship of Nawab Lutf Ali Khan Bahadur, Raes of Chattari. Mohsinul Mulk made a vigorous speech and moved a resolution seconded by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan against the introduction of Nagri script. Mohsinul Mulk took charge of the Presidentship of *Urdu Defence Association* and in a meeting of the Association he again made a very forceful speech which further irritated the officials.⁷⁷ The Lt. Governor Sir Antony MacDonnell visited the College and asked the Trustees that Mohsinul Mulk should choose between the Secretaryship of the M.A.O. College or the President of the *Urdu Defence Association*. Greatly shocked by what happened Mohsinul Mulk withdrew himself from the *Urdu Defence Association* and also intended to resign from the Secretaryship of the College.⁷⁸ He also wrote a detailed letter to Mohsinul in which he expressed his inability to continue as Honorary Secretary. But nobody was prepared to accept his resignation and pressure piled on him and he had to yield to it.⁷⁹ The Muslim Press took the issue very seriously. The *Al-Bashir* of Etawah published about 100 articles opposing the policy of the Government.⁸⁰ The Muslims felt hurt and both communities Hindu and Muslim held meetings in appreciation and condemnation of the official policy. A stream of letters for and against this policy started in almost in every leading daily. Syed Akbar Ali wrote a comprehensive letter to *Pioneer* pointing out that about 80% of the newspapers in Urdu were owned and published by Hindus and that it was the common *Lingua franca* of both the community. He appealed to the Hindus to give up the opposition of Urdu.⁸¹ On the other hand Mohsinul Mulk followed the footsteps of the Sir Syed Ahmed

76. See Home Department, Letter No. 44, January 23, 1900 to Lieutenant Governor of U.P. in *Summary of the Administration of Lord Curzon of Kedleston* in the Home Department 1899 to 1905 (Simla: Govt. Press, 1905), p. 183.

77. Sir Reza Ali Khan, *Amalnama*, p. 109.

78. Shan Mohammad, *Successor of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 39.

79. AIG, Jan. 23, 30, 1902.

80. Fufail Ahmed, *Mussalmano Ka Roshan Mustakhhil*, p. 344, Nizami Press Badaun, 1940.

81. *The Pioneer*, Feb. 1, 1902.

Khan and he was not in favour of agitational Muslim policies but he wished that the agitational approach may be turned into constitutional channel. He wrote an article entitled: *What methods should the Musalmans take to defend their rights* in *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in which he justified the sentiments of his co-religionists in demanding their rights and forming a political association.⁸² Despite this the dissatisfaction among the Muslims continued.

All these developments were not insignificant. The Muslim and the British Government viewed them differently. While the former regarded the British Government's attitude as hostile, the latter thought that the Muslims were adopting agitational politics like the Indian National Congress. This gave birth to a controversy. The Anglo-Indian papers blamed the Muslims for adopting a pro-Congress attitude, while the latter demand it. Mohsinul Mulk replying to the charges clarified the attitude of Muslims and said that he was more intimately acquainted with the thoughts and feelings of his co-religionists and that he could say with perfect confidence that his community had not changed its thinking. It still believed that the Congress policy was beneficial neither to the country nor to his community. In a letter to the *Pioneer* captioned, "*The Mohammadan and the National Congress*", Mohsinul Mulk wrote:

"Educational questions in my opinion have been for the Musalman community a paramount claim... Though Sir Syed Ahmed is dead but his opinion still lives among his people and we have shared his counsels and his lessons which are not going swerve in one jot from the policy which he has convinced us is the best for ourselves and the country".⁸³

Imadul Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami in a lecture to the students of the M.A.O. College condemned the agitational politics of the Congress. Appealing to the students he said, "I hope you will never be entered by the serum force of any agitator, *European or Nature*".⁸⁴ Ameer Ali pointed out the advantages of British

82. AIG, August 2, 1901.

83. Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 40.

84. The M.A.O. College Magazine, 1901, Feb. pp. 17-18.

rule for the Muslim intelligentsia in a particular and that of masses in general. To quote him:

“Your destinies are now in the hands of a great civilized Government.... There is no other Government, which keeps in view so prominently the great welfare of the people confined to its care or which offer such opportunity for the development and program of the community over which it holds power”.⁸⁵

Therefore Nawab Mohsinul Mulk aroused the political concern of the Muslim community and played a very significant role to put the Muslim's political interest to the British Government even he exhorted Muslim intelligentsia to fight for the political rights of the Muslims.

(F) Achievements of Mohsinul Mulk

The post Sir Syed period saw the emergence of a dynamic personality who provided Muslim leadership was Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who appeared on the horizon of Muslim politics of twentieth century after the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The achievement of Mohsinul Mulk was similar to his mentor Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. In the political field Mohsinul Mulk followed the footsteps of Sir Syed and he opposed the agitational politics of *Indian National Congress* as Sir Syed did and he did not exhorted the Muslim community to join the Congress but he was only opposed to the agitational politics of the Congress for which he consider suicidal for the country. The Presidential address of Badruddin Tayabji, presided at the Congress session of 1887 impressed him a lot. As he sent a letter of appreciation to Tayabji and said:

“Indeed a speech of which all Mohammedans wherever they may be should be proud of as having been made by one of their community”.⁸⁶

Though he followed the policy of Sir Syed regarding Congress but he had a reverence for the Congress leaders, he only considered the movement of Congress a mistake.⁸⁷ During the life time of Sir Syed the Aligarh Movement

85. The M.A.O. College Magazine, January 1900, p. 8.

86. Mohsinul Mulk to Tayabji, 10, 1888 (Tayabji Papers)

87. Mohammad Amin Zuberi, *Hayat-i-Mohsin* (AMU Press, 1934), p. 151 (Hereafter *Hayat-i-Mohsin*).

was confined to the upper and the middle class of Muslim society. Mohsinul Mulk widened its activities. Because of the involvement and untiring efforts of Mohsinul Mulk the Aligarh Movement was given a new direction through the All India Mohammadan Educational Conference. Due to the efforts of Mohsinul Mulk, it became an influential body more than what it was in the time of Sir Syed. It was confined to only U.P. and Punjab during the life time of Sir Syed because of the concentration of Muslim population in these provinces but under the leadership of Mohsinul Mulk who widened the area of its operation for two reasons particularly to collect more funds for M.A.O. College and the cooperation he sought for Aligarh Movement. The session of All India Mohammadan Education Conference were held at Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, Poona etc. where Aligarh Movement got tremendous support and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk thought to awaken the Muslims living in different Provinces for their educational and political concerns and for this he organized the sessions of the All India Educational Conference at different places. He enquired about the number of Muslim societies existing at that time, names and addresses of Muslim Barrister, Advocates and their support. Mohsinul Mulk provided the platform of the Conference to bring the influential Muslims under it. He mentioned in one of the letter that my main object was to gain solicited information to know how many of us in India are in touch with the great problem of national regeneration and how far we can succeed in enlisting their sympathies with our others... Personally I believe the information will supply a great want.⁸⁸ Through the poetic recitation and his spokenskills in the annual session of the Conference which and he garnered the emotions of millions of Muslims for the Muslim educational problem. *Hali's Musaddas* was read in the 21st session of the Conference held at Karachi on Dec. 27, 1907 and got emotional support from the Muslim community.

Mohsinul Mulk also welcomed and supported the parallel movement for the foundation of *Nadwatul Ulema*. In the annual session of the Educational

88. AIG, September 5, 1903.

Conference on 1894 Mohsinul Mulk proposed a resolution sympathizing with the aims and objectives of the seminar and assumed the new movement of his active cooperation.⁸⁹ Even Mohsinul Mulk tried to win over the Ulema (religious scholars) who were the most potent advocate section of Muslim society and some leading Ulema were invited to visit M.A.O. College and to see the good work that the College was doing among the young Muslims and from that time onwards the Ulema also began to extend their support to Conference by attending its annual sessions. The bitterness that existed Sir Syed's time now ended⁹⁰ and Ulema started participating in the activities of the Conference.

Mohsinul Mulk also invited foreign dignitaries in M.A.O. College for visit to gain their support for his educational movement. Prince of Wales. His Majesty King George V. visited India in 1906. and they were invited to Aligarh. even the Amir of Afghanistan was invited to M.A.O. College by Mohsinul Mulk and he visited the same and enquired about the condition of the hostellers, students and appreciated a lot about the theological studies at Aligarh and misconception related to the M.A.O. College were removed. He told Nawab Mohsinul Mulk "what I have seen is so different from what I had heard, what they said against Aligarh was all lies, all lies".⁹¹ He was impressed with academic atmosphere of the College and appreciated the Management of the College under the supervision of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk.

Nawab Mohsinul Mulk also followed the footsteps of Sir Syed in maintaining secular tradition at M.A.O. College and cultivated to moral values and inculcated the communal harmony amongst the students of the M.A.O. College. On the occasion of the death ceremony of the Sir Syed he said that the Muslim abstention from the Congress was not to be taken as opposition to the Hindu community. Differences on one point should not lead to difference on all

89. AIG, February 2, 1895.

90. N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 596.

91. See, Amin Zuberi, *Hayat-i-Mohsin*.

points. He advised the graduates of the College to cultivate friendly feelings towards the Hindus. On Hindu-Muslim unity he said:

“For the Hindus and Muslims to prosper without union is impossible, and God willing a time will come when each of the two communities, setting aside their political differences will work towards the improvement of their country’s state.”⁹²

At the Madras session of the Mohammedan Educational Conference he said:

“He be a Hindu or Musalman who doesnot try to maintain and improve mutual friendly relations sins against his community and his country”.⁹³

When Gokhale visited the M.A.O. College in 1907, MohsinulMulk made an impressive speech on Hindu-Muslim cooperation and exhorted them to unite them.⁹⁴ Thus he maintained the goal of high standard for the secular approach, communal harmony and non-sectarian approach of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s ideals of Aligarh Movement.

When Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, died on 16th October 1907, *Times of India* wrote in an obituary and paid its tribute to him as ‘lost a real statesman’.⁹⁵ To Minto his death was a very great loss.⁹⁶ The *Pioneer* wrote in its obituary ‘It was a great irony of fate that changed him from deadly antagonist of Sir Syed to a staunch friend, an ally and he became so imbued, with the spirit of the ‘Sage of Aligarh’, that not only kept up the tradition of his chief but added more luster and glory to it.’⁹⁷ Thus a great leader was lost and again the Muslim community sunk in gloomy when Mohsinul Mulk was departed to the heavenly abode. Indeed he was a true leader as was his guide Sir Syed.

92 . AIG, April 1906, also see *Tribune* April 18, 1906.

93 . Shan Mohammad, *Successor of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 127.

94 . *The Muslim Patriot*, April , 1907.

95 . *Times of India*, October 19, 1907.

96 . *Minto papers*, January, December 1907.

97 . *The Pioneer*, October 2, 1907.

CHAPTER - III

NAWAB VIQARUL MULK AND ALIGARH MOVEMENT



Nawab Vigarul Mulk (Honorary-Secretary)
M.A.O. College, Aligarh
1907-1913

CHAPTER – III

NAWAB VIQARUL MULK AND ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Sir Syed made politics a taboo for the Muslims and had never participated in any anti-British agitation but he was more concerned with the development of modern education for the Muslim community. His conviction was that education alone could change the position of Muslim community and by embracing modern education would give a respectable place to Muslim community in the society. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was the first to break the ice and his political participation in the Urdu-Hindi controversy and later his involvement in the issue, invited displeasure of the British Government. The formation of Urdu Defence Association earned fury of the Lieutenant Governor MacDonnell by Mohsinul Mulk and therefore he disassociated from the burning issue of Urdu-Hindi controversy because he was taught by his elder the lesson of Muslim loyalty towards British Government and the cause of Muslim education was dear to him and thus he remained away from Urdu-Hindi controversy. But after the death of Mohsinul Mulk, his co-worker Nawab Viqarul Mulk, an associate of Sir Syed and who had worked under him succeeded to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk as the Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College. Nawab Viqarul Mulk was educated on the same traditional way as was Mohsinul Mulk, and he followed the same path of Sir Syed's policy of Muslim loyalty to British Government but to some extent, he differed on certain political issues of Muslim concerns in the 20th century and therefore set a new trend to oppose the British Government from Aligarh, the bastion of Muslim loyalty. The emergence of Nawab Viqarul Mulk as a leader on the horizon of Muslim politics of 20th century solved the problem of Muslim leadership after the death of Mohsinul Mulk. The issues of Muslim interests and the educational concerns of the Muslim community was easily taken up ahead

after assuming the leadership of Muslim community by Nawab Viqarul Mulk in 20th century.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the political achievements of Nawab Viqarul Mulk became the first Muslim leader after Sir Syed and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who vigorously taken up the cause of Muslim concerns and raised the anxiety of Muslim community to the British Government over the issue of Hindi-Urdu controversy in 20th century. A study of his biographical as well as his contribution which he made through the Aligarh Movement in the 20th century will provide an insight into his greater concerns for his community. The educational and political consciousness of Nawab Viqarul Mulk and his achievements in this concern in the 20th century form the theme of this chapter.

(A) Biographical Sketch of Nawab Viqarul Mulk (1841-1917)

The ancestors of Nawab Viqarul Mulk were in the service of the Mughal Emperors and Abdul Momin Khan was one of the ministers at the court of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan, around the year 1653 A.D. But after the decline of the Mughal power its effect was also felt on the family of Abdul Momin Khan as they suffered heavily. The descendants of Abdul Momin Khan later on settled in a small village in Moradabad district towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of the descendent of Momin Khan was the family of Shaikh Fazl Hussain settled in Moradabad district. Though the family of Shaikh Fazl Hussain was not so rich and they lived the life of humble village-folk, eking out a difficult existence but they had produced some learned men for which the family was known.

A son was born in the family of Shaikh Fazl Hussain at *Sarwah*, a tiny place in the district Meerut (U.P.) where his father was employed. They named the child Mushtaq Husain. The mother of Mushtaq Husain was Batlunnisa, the grand

daughter of Hakim Mohammad Munir of Amroha. Though she was not well educated and even did not have sufficient traditional education, but she was a pious and well cultured lady. She brought up her child with most care as a good mother could give to a son. The child was hardly of six months old, when his father died and the entire responsibility of bringing up the child fell on the widowed mother. Although not literate herself, Batlunnisa was determined to give her son the best education and to bring him up as a perfect gentlemen. Batlunnisa brought back the child to her father Moulvi Anwar Ali's house at Amroha¹ where Mushtaq Husain was given the first lesson in moral training i.e. obedience to parents². From the very beginning Mushtaq Husain was of stubborn nature but it was mother's caring and strict supervision that he became a well-mannered and God fearing man in his later phase of his life.³

As far as the early education of the Mushtaq Hussain is concerned, he was given the same traditional education at village's *Maktab*, where he sat on the floor with other boys of his village. He also received the reading of the *Quran* and later became a pupil of Maulvi Rahat Ali Amrohi, under whom he learnt advanced *Arabic*, the *Hadith* and *Fiqh*. He also attended Government District School, because it was not possible to find a Government employment, without having studied in a Government School. There he proved to be an intelligent, hardworking, well-disciplined and well-behaved student and became favourite of his teachers. Soon he accepted a post on ten rupees a month as an assistant teacher in the District School, where he had studied.⁴

He started his early career as scribe or clerk in Income Tax on scale of Rs. 20 per month salary at Tehsil Moradabad. In 1861, when a famine broke out in the

1 Amroha is a town in the north-western side of Uttar Pradesh state in India. It is situated on the north west of the Moradabad district, near Sot River. It is located at 28°47'N 78°47'E. Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani, *Viqar-e-Hayat*, AMU Press, 1925, p. 2. (Hereafter, *Viqar-e-Hayat*).

2 *Viqar-e-Hayat*, Ibid., p. 2.

3 N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 401.

United Provinces and Sir Syed Ahmed was in charge of relief work in Moradabad district and Nawab Viqarul Mulk was entrusted of carrying out relief work in Amroha sector wherein he took the job with great enthusiasm and worked relentlessly for the welfare of the famine stricken people. There he developed a strong bond of mutual relationship with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and very soon he had caught the eyes of his superior and soon rose to the higher post in the Government service. He was promoted from one post to another, from one place to another, until he was finally appointed to work under Sir Syed Ahmed at Aligarh, where Sir Syed was posted as a subordinate judge. Moulvi Mushtaq Husain was an indefatigable worker and always ready to help his colleagues who were in arrears in their office work. While he was in service, he began to prepare for the examination of *Tehsildar* which he passed in 1872. Sir Syed also borrowed the services of Moulvi Mushtaq Husain to Sir John Stretchy who was the Collector of Gorakhpur and he was appointed to distribute the relief material as there was a famine occurred.⁵

Moulvi Mushtaq Husain also faced problems while he was in Government service. Once he was objected by some European officers during his service at Gonda where he was posted as *Sherishtadar* on the issue of his absence for the prayers for which he was stopped for visiting mosque to perform his *namaz*. But Moulvi Mushtaq Husain showed inbounding independence and refused to be cowed by the threats or pressure of his superior particularly of the Collector of Gorakhpur Mr. Kaloon. He decided to submit his resignation than giving up his prayers on time for which it fell during office hours. Although he was drawing one hundred rupees a month as salary, which was considered a princely sum in those days, he submitted his resignation and begged for its acceptance if he was not to be allowed time for prayers. With the intervention of some well-intentioned

⁵ *Viqar-e-Hayat*, p. 13. See Muhammad Amin Zubairi, *Tazkirah-e-Viqar*, Aligarh, 1934, p. 17. (Hereafter *Tazkirah-e-Viqar*)

English officer. he was given permission for prayers and his resignation was withdrawn.⁶

(B) Nawab Viqarul Mulk and his Services to Hyderabad State

Moulvi Mushtaq Husain came to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's notice during great famine of 1861, which brought him closer to when he was supervising the relief work at Moradabad division.⁷ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan employed Moulvi Mushtaq Husain as a reader when he was a sub-judge at Aligarh. After his transfer to Banaras, Mushtaq Hussain also worked under Moulvi Samiullah Khan, who was Sir Syed's foremost assistant in his educational mission. Sir Syed recommended the name of Moulvi Mushtaq Ahmed to Sir Salar Jung I who took him to Hyderabad state in 1875 and entrusted the Judicial Department to him. From 1875 to 1892 he held high appointments in the Hyderabad Civil Service till he was compelled to resign owing to local intrigue. Due to his reforms in the administration and he got appreciation and the title of *Nawab Intisar Jung Viqar-ud-Doula Viqar-ul-Mulk* was conferred on him by His Exalted Highness the Nizam⁸ for his services to the State of Hyderabad.

During the famine of 1877 at Hyderabad State, Moulvi Mushtaq Husain prepared a comprehensive scheme for the distribution of relief measures and provided help to the famine-stricken people and recommended the setting up of homes for the poor and disabled persons. His suggestions were accepted fully and he was put in charge of relief work. Whenever he visited famine camps and homes for the poor, he spent hours with them and consoled them with his kind words and provided financial assistance to them. He continued to serve Hyderabad state for seventeen years and he got the appointments in higher posts. But due to open differences between the English Resident and Sir Salar Jung, Moulvi Mushtaq

⁶ N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 402.

⁷ *Viqar-e-Hayat*, pp. 382-84, *Tazkirah-e-Viqar*, op.cit.p.17.

⁸ *Tazkirah-e-Viqar*, p. 58.

Husain found himself a target of local intrigues. In his last years at Hyderabad he was drawing a salary of four thousand and five hundred rupees a month. Most of which he spent in helping poor, the needy, the orphans and widows. Even he did not lose any opportunity to provide his services for the betterment of the State of Hyderabad but after his open differences with the resident of Hyderabad, he resigned from his services 1892 and settled down at Aligarh to work as assistant of Sir Syed in his Aligarh Movement.⁹

(C) Succession of Nawab Viqarul Mulk as the Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College

Among the successors of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan the name of Nawab Viqarul Mulk comes second after Nawab Mohsinul Mulk. Close relation developed between Sir Syed and Nawab Viqarul Mulk during the services of the former with Sir Syed at Moradabad and Aligarh. Even Sir Syed recommended his name for the services of the state of Hyderabad, where he served for seventeen years. But later he resigned from the state and came back to his native place at Amroha and led a semi-retired life for about eight years. In retirement he sat on the Amroha Municipal Board but later shifted to Aligarh and where he remained a co-worker of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and worked for the betterment of Muslim society under supervision of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and remained there till his breathe last.

The closing years of Sir Syed's life saw him greatly preoccupied. Apart from the College's affairs, he now had to manage the *All India Mohammedan Educational Conference*,¹⁰ the *Anglo-Oriental Defence Association*,¹¹ the editorship of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*¹² and the *Tehzibul Akhlaq* etc. Consequently most of the College work remained unattended. Therefore Sir Syed

⁹ See for details *Viqar-e-Hayat*, N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 402-3.

¹⁰ It was founded by Sir Syed in 1886 to cater the educational needs of his community on all India basis.

¹¹ It was the organisation of Sir Syed which was founded to safeguard the Muslim interests.

¹² It was a mouthpiece of Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement, established in 1866, Sir Syed was its editor and it was published in two languages i.e. English and Urdu.

passed these works to Viqarul Mulk, who looked after the dining hall, hostel management and general discipline of the students.¹³ After the death of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk in Shimla on 16 October 1907, the selection of an *Honorary Secretary* for the M.A.O. College became an important question because the British Government wanted a pro-British man in a loyal Muslim institution. In the official circle it was said that the Secretary should be an influential man capable of controlling the political agitation among the students of MAO College who were quite affected by the Pan-Islamic ideas and the British policy to the Muslim state in the beginning of the 20th century. Even a student's strike had been called in 1907 and the College campus witnessed the problem of management and even nationalist leaders were invited like Gopal Krishna Gokhale¹⁴ and Mohammad Ali during the period of strike. Gokhale was invited by Mohammad Ali to build up an anti-British group at Aligarh.¹⁵ Ultimately Viqarul Mulk was the choice, but he was a 'conservative' by nature and did not like the influence of European staff in the College management. But the Government was aware that if he was not elected by the Trustees he would become a fervent supporter of Mohammad Ali, a radical nationalist leader whose influence was profound on the students of M.A.O. College to which British Government did not like to see any anti-British agitation at M.A.O. College. Mohammad Ali was unhappy with the British from the very beginning because of his failure to secure a teaching post at M.A.O. College despite the recommendation of Mohsinul Mulk. Theodore Morrison, the principal of the College rejected Mohammad Ali's application. Besides, he felt offended when the English principal insulted the Honorary Secretary and did not apologise.

¹³ . Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 31.

¹⁴ Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) – joined Indian National Congress in its early stage and became Joint Secretary; elected to the Bombay Legislative Council and Imperial Legislative Council; was made a CIE in 1904; founded the Servants of Indian Society 1915 whose object was to train young men for the services of India and to raise national feeling in them belonged to the extremist wing of Indian National Congress.

¹⁵ Mohammad Ali regularly corresponded with Gokhale and invited him to Aligarh. See the Letters from Mohammad Ali to G.K. Gokhale dt. 27th January 1908. File No. 341 (*Gokhale Paper*).

In a letter to the Secretary he observed: "Every unbearded European will pose to be a Pharaoh. Neither there will remain any farsightedness nor will any power be left with you, if you remain silent."¹⁶ Therefore British Government did not willing to have an n offended and radical Mohammad Ali in M.A.O. College campus. And thus the choice was felt on Nawab Viqarul Mulk who could be used as the best and most effective engine to quash the influence of Mohammad Ali and his followers in the College affairs as a Trustee.¹⁷ Thus Viqarul Mulk was favoured reluctantly by Sir J.P. Hewett and he took the office of Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College on June 11, 1908.¹⁸ Thus Nawab Viqarmul Mulk was succeeded to the post of *Honorary Secretary* of M.A.O. College on 11th January 1908.

(D) Tussle between European Staff and the Secretary of M.A.O. College

During the time of Sir Syed, when Mr. Theodore Beck¹⁹ (1859-99) was the Principal of M.A.O. College, there soon arose acute differences between the Principal supported by the entire European staff on the one hand and Trustees on the other regarding the expulsion of a student named Syed Husain alias Bangru who led the students to strike of 1888 and manhandled bearers²⁰. The issues of the discipline among the students and their expulsion on the matter of strike of 1888 made relation more strained between the European staff backed by Principal and the Management Committee of M.A.O. College because both wanted to have greater control over the College affairs and discipline though their area of influence was defined but the European staff wanted more power on these matter

¹⁶ Mohammad Ali to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, 26th November 1908 in Allah Baksh Yusufi, *Life of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar* (Karachi: Mohd. Ali Educational Society, 1907), pp.153-4, See also Jamaluddin Ahmad, "Maulana Mohammad Ali," in *Comrade Selections*, p.184.

¹⁷ Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit., p. 55.

¹⁸ Sir J.P. Hewett's letter to Dunlop Smith dated Nov. 1907(*Minto Paper*).

¹⁹ Mr. Theodore Beck (1859-99) was educated at Cambridge and Oxford and was recruited by Syed Mahmud for the post of Principal of M.A.O. College. He took part actively in the affairs of the M.A.O. College and had great influence on Sir Syed and among his students.

²⁰ See for details, S.K. Bhatnagar, *M.A.O. College*, op.cit., pp. 95-96.

and later on the matter was shorted out with the intervention of Sir Syed Ahmed and normalcy was brought in relationship between European staff and the Management committee of the College but after the death of Sir Syed, fundamental differences arose regarding management of the College and the differences occurred between the European staff with the Trustees of the College which later came to the surface. Here the tug of war for supremacy was the Management of the College and the succession of Secretary of M.A.O. College came after the death of Sir Syed.

Even during the time of Principalship of Theodore Morison an acute difference occurred with Mohsinul Mulk regarding the political participation of Muslims in the Urdu-Hindi controversy. Morison wanted that the College with its students, staff and the Management should not participate in anti-British agitation. The only political activity which European staff wanted from the students and Trustees of the College was Muslim loyalty to the British Government. The other issues of the MAO College which cropped up and created more complex situation at the M.A.O. College during Principalship of W.A.J. Archebold were as follows:

- (a) regarding the control over the administration and discipline of the students.
- (b) greater control of the College and to curb the influences of Old Boys like Mohammad Ali and others.
- (c) hold of the European staff in the College as had been during the time of Sir Syed.

On the other hand the admission of students was restricted while the Management of the College encouraged admission, but despite their nodding for admission, the European staff resented it since the pressure of work fell on them. To maintain high degree of discipline at the College Shaikh Abdullah wrote : "We shall not be able to maintain a standard of discipline at the College unless we

restricted the number of College students".²¹ But denying admission to the Muslim student was also a problem in the eyes of Trustees because they wanted to have Muslim students enrolled in the College to make it more conducive for the admission of the Muslim students.

The arrival of Archebold as the Principal of the M.A.O. College when Nawab Mohinsul Mulk's health had completely failed and his control over the Principal was nominal and all educational problems of the College admission, promotions, curricula, time table etc. were left to the Principal. Thus students had utter chance to be heard against the European staff. Despite all these Nawab Mohsinul Mulk maintained an atmosphere of peace in the College affairs by not interfering in the jurisdiction of Principal's authority in the College matter with grace and tact and brought conducive atmosphere in the College. But Nawab Viqarul Mulk who was having a hard temperament, would neither yield nor close his eyes as what went about in the College. The *Honorary Secretary* armed with the backing of the community was sometime tempted to intrude into the sphere of the Principal's authority and he had his watchful eyes on the College affairs and did not like too much influence of the European staff into the College affairs. And the strike of 1907²² at M.A.O. College brought Nawab Viqarul Mulk in direct confrontation with European staff during the Principalship of Archbold. It happened on an account of an insignificant incident at the Annual Exhibition at Aligarh. Some students made an unauthorized entry into the one of the enclosures. One of them, Ghulam Husain clashed with a police constable and matter was reported to the Principal, who awarded punishment and he was asked to Ghulam Husain to do the followings :

²¹ Ibid., p. 150.

²² *Confidential Report of the Committee of Enquiry at Aligarh M.A.O. College, March 1907* (Allahabad).

Also see, private confidential letters from J.P.Hewet Lt. Governor of U.P. to S.H. Bilgrami, 21st August and 27th November 1907, Nainital, in Hewet Correspondence No.9, Part I, (Bilgrami Paper)

1. He was fined a sum of Rs. 20.
2. He was asked to apologize to the District Superintendent of Police.
3. He was forbidden to leave the College premises till further order.

Later on Principal issued orders expelling six other students. The College students called strike which followed the visit of Gokhale in February 1907. During the strike the Old Boys were having their Annual Function at Aligarh and thus who attended this function also participated in the strike of the College, and with the participation of Gopal Krishna Gokhale matter became more politicized. Mohammad Ali also participated in it by which the Lieutenant-Governor J.P. Hewett (1907-12) wrote to Lord Minto, the Viceroy (1909-1910) on February 24, 1907 that: it were Mohammad Ali and Gokhale who instigated the students. The strike had administered a severe shock to Mohsinul Mulk who could not sustain it and passed away in Shimla.²³

The Trustees, acting on the advice of the Patron (Lieutenant Governor of North-Western Provinces), appointed on February 23, 1907, a Commission of Enquiry consisting of eight members, "to make a confidential enquiry into the causes and circumstances relating to the dissatisfaction of that student of the College". The Commission was also asked to recommend measures for preventing such occurrence in future²⁴. A fresh conflict emerged between Principal and Nawab Viqarmul Mulk as Viqarul Mulk used to listen to the grievances of the students to which Principal did not like it and even the suggestions to the students by Nawab Viqarul Mulk on certain matters did not liked by the Principal and matter was more worsened when Nawab Vikqarul Mulk suggested some changes in time table prepared by the Principal and the matter was put to the Lieutenant Governor on February 22, 1909, and who came to Aligarh and addressed the

²³. See S. K. Bhatnagar .op.cit. p. 203 also See for details, Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit., pp. 55-56.

²⁴. S.K. Bhatnagar, *M.A.O. Collage*, op.cit., pp. 202-4. Also see *Pioneer* March 18, 1907.

Trustees and advise them to reduce the pressure of work on the European staff and to eliminate overcrowding in class room. The *Honorary Secretary* asked the Principal to produce the College time table, then Principal resented it as undue interference and submitted his resignation on March 2, 1909, simultaneously forwarding its copy to the Patron.

The *Pioneer* published on March 18, 1907 express its deep concern about the College affairs and even published the differences between European staff and the Management²⁵. The tussle between European staff and *Honorary Secretary* was due to matter of hegemony over the College administration. The Governor Sir John Hewett who intervened and tried to make a compromise. The interference of Governor was resented all over India. The stalemate continued for some time, later on Principal Archbold submitted his resignation. The Trustee thereafter adopted a resolution which clearly defined the powers of the *Honorary Secretary* and the Principal, forbidding the latter to write directly to the British Government or to any Government department. Thus ended a long drawn controversy about the administration of the College and a new era was opened in its working and the College affairs came on the smooth water again.²⁶

(E) Nawab Viqarul Mulk and Political Consciousness among Muslims of India

After Sir Syed's death in 1898, Muslims were completely disillusioned and they lost a great Muslim leader. But with the appearance of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk as the leader of Muslim community after Sir Syed who gave a new life to Aligarh Movement and worked for the Educational Mission of Sir Syed by following the footsteps of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his ideal of Muslim policy of loyalty to the British government. He did not deviate from the path of Muslim loyalty but when the Urdu-Hindi controversy came on the surface, he founded an *Urdu Defence*

²⁵ *Pioneer* March 18, 1907.

²⁶ N.K. Singh, *Muslim Biography*, op.cit., p. 404.

Association in 1900 and he participated in a series of meetings and organized political gatherings of Muslims to raise the serious issue of employing of Hindi as the official language in courts as the threat to Muslim community. But his involvement in the political matter infuriated the British government as they did not like the involvement of Muslims in a political matter against the British from the bastion of Muslim loyalty at Aligarh. Therefore Mohsinul Mulk was asked by Lieutenant Governor of U.P. to either choose the *Urdu Defence Association* or to save his College from the British onslaught because it was almost sustained with the help of British Government. Hence following the footsteps of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan Mohsinul Mulk distanced himself from Urdu-Hindi controversy and he choose the education as it was the paramount necessity for the Muslim community as it was also a source for their upliftment which was also an ideal of Sir Syed. But with the emergence of Nawab Viqarul Mulk who succeeded as they Honorary Secretary of MAO College, a change in the policy of Muslim leadership could be seen regarding their political concern. Though Viqarul Mulk followed the footstep of Sir Syed but he could not stop himself from participating in the political issues of Muslims concerns which he considered a vital interest of Muslim community. He propagated his idea to make Muslims aware of their political share and interest in administration which could be raised from the political platform which till then was not founded. Therefore Nawab Viqarul Mulk tried to form a Muslim Political Association by which the grievances of the Muslim community could be raised in 20th century and in this way he was the first Muslim leader to think to form a political platform for the Muslim community and for the same he differed with his predecessors and was successful in achieving the same.

(1) Nawab Viqarul Mulk and Formation of Muslim Political Association

It was Urdu-Hindi controversy which led the involvement of Aligarh leaders into the political matter. Actually the Urdu-Hindi controversy dates back to the year 1867 when the Hindus of North India put their claim for recognition of Hindi as

the official language in place of Urdu and Persian. Sir Syed viewed this movement with anxiety and horror and came to the conclusion that it was difficult for the two communities to live together. As the issue was raised by Non-Muslims but because of the fear of alienating the Muslims, the Government was not ready to give any weightage to the matter. And even Sir Syed also played an important role in subsidizing the controversy.²⁷

During the Secretaryship of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, the students of the College participated in anti-British meeting over Hindi-Urdu controversy.²⁸ Mohsinul Mulk, as the true representative of the Aligarh school, told the students and the Muslim community that 'Education' and not the 'politics' was still a paramount necessity for them, and he disassociated himself from the *Urdu Defence Association*. Thus the fear of employment in courts for Muslims continued but the anxiety remained in the minds of the Muslim community. On the other hand Mohsinul Mulk reduced the anxiety of British Government regarding Muslim disloyalty and he disassociated from the *Urdu Defence Association* but strong feeling emerged to form a political organisation of Muslims to show their anxiety to the British Government.

One of the oldest Aligarh Graduate of M.A.O. College named Ghulam-us-Saqlain²⁹ had already made a strong demand for the formation of a Muslim Political Association. In his own monthly journal, *Asr-e-Jadid* or 'Modern voice' founded in 1903, he gave reasons for forming political organization. To quote

"Intelligent Musalmans will readily admit the necessity for the establishment of a *Muhammadan Political Association*. Owing to the want of such an association the interests of the Muhammadan community have already suffered in a variety of ways and are still being trampled underfoot; some of the instances being the Hindi-

²⁷ . AIG, November 13, 1868.

²⁸ . AIG, 7th May, 1901.

²⁹ . Ghulam-us-Saqlain belonged to hometown of Meerut, but settled down at Lucknow. He passed his B.A. from Aligarh MAO College, was a lawyer and journalist, associated with Viqar-ul-Mulk; advocated for the formation of Muslim political association.

Urdu controversy, the exclusion of Persian from the Allahabad University and the paucity of Musalman members in the Municipality and Local Boards".³⁰

When Mohsinul Mulk withdrew himself from the *Urdu Defence Association* and also intended to resign from the *Honorary Secretaryship* of MAO College no body was prepared to accept his resignation. All these developments were not insignificant. the Muslims and the British Government viewed each other with suspicion. While the former regarded the Government's attitude as hostile, the latter thought that the Muslims were adopting agitational politics like Indian National Congress. This gave birth to a new controversy. The Anglo-Indian papers blamed the Muslims for adopting a pro-Congress attitude, while the latter denied it.³¹ Mohsinul Mulk replied to the charges and clarified the attitude of Musalmans and said that he was more intimately acquainted with the thoughts and feelings of his co-religionists and he could say with perfect confidence that his community had not changed its thinking. It still believed that Congress policy was neither beneficial to the country nor to his community. In a letter to the *Pioneer*, titled, "The Mohammadan and the National Congress, Mohsinul Mulk wrote:

"Educational questions in my opinion have for the Musalman community a paramount claim..."³²

He also suggested a mild policy for the formation of a Political organization³³ and he agreed with Morison (Principal of MAO College) who suggested the formation of a small Council to represent the Muslim cause.³⁴

Suggestions were also made to review the defunct *Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association* as any further silence in political matters was considered suicidal.

³⁰ . See *Asre-i-Jadid* (Meerut), May 1903, UPNNR, 1903.
³¹ . Shan Mohammad, *Successor of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 40.
³² . *The Pioneer*, January 26, 1901.
³³ . See AIG, 17 October, 1901.
³⁴ . AIG, 19 September 1901.

Therefore Viqarul Mulk, the protégé of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and a close friend of Mohsinul Mulk came out of secluded retirement on the Amroha Municipal Board to organize a Muslim Political Association and to bring political awakening amongst Muslim. because as he considered unless the Government know about Muslim political aspirations how could it give it to them.³⁵ He set out his approach in a letter to the *Pioneer* and said:

“We start with firm conviction, and seek to implant it in the mind of every Indian Musalman that our national destiny is now bound up with the presence and permanence of British rule in this country and that in the Government of the day will have got out our best and surest friend”.³⁶

And on the need of a Political organization for the Muslim community, Nawab Viqarul Mulk expressed his views. To quote :

“We, the Indian Musalmans being in the minority, have our own special needs and require some means through which we can place them before the Government”.³⁷

And to garner support of Muslim community in favour of a Muslim Political Association, Nawab Viqarul Mulk toured the districts of Western U.P. exhorting the inhabitants to form Local Associations and elect delegates to a general Muslim meeting at Lucknow which would organize a *Central Muhammadan Political Association*. Meetings were held at Moradabad, Aligarh, Badaun and Bijnor and political associations were formed in at least two places, Sharanpur and Shahjahanpur. Thus on 22 October 1903, Muslim delegates from the U.P., Punjab and Bihar met at Lucknow and agreed to set up a political organization.³⁸ Formation of a Muslim Political Association in July 1903 at Saharanpur and

³⁵ AIG, August 22, 1901.

³⁶ Letter from Nawab Viqarul Mulk to the editor of the *Pioneer*, August 1903, quoted in the *Advocate* (Lucknow), 22 August 1903, UPNNR 1903.

³⁷ *The Pioneer*, 21 July, 1903.

³⁸ Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, op.cit., pp. 140-141.

Shahjahanpur brought a political consciousness in Muslim community and it also changed the issues and aims of Aligarh Movement from education to politics.

Emergence of Nawab Viqarul Mulk in 20th century as Muslim leader was significant in the history of Muslim politics as he prepared the ground for the formation of *Muslim Political Association*, which changed the psychology of Muslim community and the Muslim gentry of the North-Western Provinces started thinking for their political rights and also a stage was prepared for the formation of All India Muslim League to put forward the Muslim grievances to the British Government.

(2) Growth of Muslim Separatism

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the direction of Muslim politics in U.P. depended largely upon the understanding between Government and the Muslim leadership of Aligarh. The business of the latter was to protect the interests of the Muslims and the Urdu speaking elite. They supported British Government so long as administrative reforms were imposed highly upon them. From the beginning of the 19th century the conditions in which this understanding worked, began to change. Concessions to Hindu revivalist agitation in the U.P. and Hindu and Congress agitation elsewhere, led Aligarh leaders to fear that the Government was deserting them. Young western educated Muslims were so disillusioned by the poor rewards of political docility that they threatened to join the Congress. The Aligarh leaders were compelled in order to remain in control, to demand more vigorously than ever before that the Government should protect their interests. Government, in turn, feared that if it did not concede some at least of the Aligarh leader's demands, it would lose the support of the Muslims whose hostility at most feared.³⁹

³⁹ . Robinson. Ibid., p. 133.

The understanding between the Aligarh leaders and the Government was first attacked by MacDonnell who felt that the Muslims were too hostile and potentially too dangerous to be encouraged. The majority of Sunnis had a double allegiance, on the one hand to Britain but on the other hand to their Khalifa, the Turkish Sultan.⁴⁰ MacDonnell was even on the watch for the signs of Muslim fanaticism. The Nadwatul Ulama probably quite innocent, was branded with sedition.⁴¹ He told to Lord Elgin that the Muslims Government servants were not to be trusted and he later told to Elgin during the Pan Islamists flurry of 1897, 'has been... the failure of our Mohammedan officials – *Tehsildars* and Police officers, to give us any useful or tangible information as to what is going beneath the surface.'⁴² The Muslim Government servants were not to be trusted. So his decision to give more employment opportunities shift from more Muslims towards the Hindus. Persian was removed from the curriculum of Allahabad University. A list of candidates for the post of *Tahsildar* and Deputy Collector was reflected because it had too many Muslims.

And the Nagri resolution of 18 April 1900 was the last straw. As a protest the Aligarh leaders reorganized the *Muhamamdan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association* of Upper India as the Urdu Defence Association, and its charge was overtaken by Mohsinul Mulk. At Allahabad, and *Urdu Defence Association* founded by English and Muslim barristers in 1898 sprang into life under the guidance of Karamat Husain. At Lucknow most of the leading Muslim, led by Hamid Ali Khan, were swept into a committee to protect Urdu. At Lahore a meeting was held under Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qezilbash. Kayasthas and Kashmiri Brahmins also joined the Muslim (because of their association with Urdu speaking elite and Government jobs in courts). In the protest against the

⁴⁰ MacDonnell to Curzon, 21 October 1899, Curzon Papers (Indian Office Library) cited from Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, p. 134.

⁴¹ MacDonnell to Curzon, 18 May, 1900, Curzon Papers.

⁴² MacDonnell to Elgin, 12 August 1897.

Nagri resolution, the range of support of Muslim politics was extended far beyond the usual base of Aligarh.⁴³ But these protests were of no use and the leader of the Muslim politics, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was given a warning by MacDonnell and he made it clear that the College Secretary must choose to protest against the Government or to get Government grant for MAO College.⁴⁴

All these developments led to Mohsinul Mulk shocked and he even intended to resign from *Honorary-Secretaryship* of the College. The Muslim regarded the Government's attitude as hostile. And Muslims were now politically very conscious and a stage had reached when the foundation of some sort of Muslim political organisation was inevitable. And the feeling of Muslim separatism started among the Indian Muslims and they thought to form their own political organization. In this way first step was provided by the Morrison the Principal of M.A.O. College who suggested for the foundation of a small Council of leading Muslims.⁴⁵ Mohsinul Mulk supported the views of Morrison and regarded them as guidance for the whole community. Unlike Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk favoured the idea of forming a political organization and soon on October 21 & 22, 1901, prominent Muslim assembled at the residence of Syed Hamid Ali Khan, bar-at-Law of Lucknow to consider their future course of action. And this assembly of Muslims is considered very significant as it was for the first time that they collectively thought over the formation of a Muslim political organization.⁴⁶ The meeting authorized Viqarul Mulk to visit important cities of the United Provinces to propagate its objectives and to explain the necessity of having the proposed association. After some debates among the Muslim intellectuals the way was cleared for the formation of *Mohammedan Political Association* in 1903 in Saharanpur and Viqarul Mulk convened a meeting and

⁴³ . Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, op.cit., pp. 134 and 135.

⁴⁴ . Ibid., pp. 136, 137.

⁴⁵ . AIG, 19 Sep. 1901.

⁴⁶ . *The Tribune*, November 7, 1901.

Moulvi Abdullahjan spoke to the audience and assured the Muslims of its peaceful policy.⁴⁷

When it was suggested that the Mohammedan Association should be named as Mohammadan Congress, Viqarul Mulk said that it would only make the Muslim organization look like the *Indian National Congress*, although they both differed in their objectives. There was no similarity between 'agitation' and 'constitutionalism'. The Muhammadan Political Association was meant to make a proper representation of the Muslim views and to distinguish its members from those Muslims who were sycophants and only believed in praising the Government all the time.⁴⁸ Muslims under the leadership of Viqarul Mulk followed the policy of 'isolation' from the Congress and though Badruddin Tayabji in his presidential address to the Muhamamdan Education Conference (1903) invited Muslims to join the National Congress, but they did not agree to the invitation of Badruddin Tayabji. Instead small political associations were formed in many parts of the country. One such association, the Presidency National Muhammadan Association was founded in Bombay in 1904. It supported the Muhammadan Political Association of the Muslims of U.P. and reaffirmed its faith in the policy of Sir Syed.⁴⁹

Furthermore due to the British policy of expansion in Turkey, Arabia and Pan Islamic movement had already brought consciousness in Muslims and it also brought anti-British feeling among the young students of the M.A.O. College. Even the students of Colleges threatened to join the Congress. In 1905, young Aligarh Muslims such as Tufail Ahmed and Hasrat Mohani attended the Congress session held at Banaras and in 1906, the Aligarh College Students Union took an alarming line when it passed by overwhelming majority, motions advocating joint

⁴⁷ *The Pioneer*, July 1903..

⁴⁸ Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 47.

⁴⁹ *AIQ*, Oct.4, 1904.

actions by Hindu and Muslim in politics.⁵⁰ So there was already dissatisfaction among the Aligarh students regarding the Muslim interests, on the other hand the most deep impact on the Muslim was created during the post partition of Bengal provinces. And Hindus opposition to Bengal's partition led them to think of their political status as a community in India. The incident which made them more politically conscious was the partition of Bengal. Muslims welcomed the partition and Nawab Samiullah in an article said,

"That the potentialities of the 'New Province' were great and it had offered to the Musalmans of Bengal many facilities which they had hitherto not enjoyed".⁵¹

The Aligarh school hailed the partition of Bengal and to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk the partition of Bengal was a positive sign for the Muslim advancement in their socio-economic status. The partition of Bengal was hailed by Mohsinul Mulk as he said:

"The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had, as compared to the Hindus been so backward and that they could not hope to stand side by side with the latter... The partition provided them the opportunity to improve their condition and if they did not avail themselves of this golden opportunity they were doomed for ever".⁵²

The *Central National Mohammadan Association* and the *Muslim Literary Society of Calcutta* welcomed wholeheartedly the creation of the new provinces of Eastern Bengal. But the anti-partition movement gathered such a momentum that the Pro-Muslim Lieutenant Governor, of newly created Provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Sir Bampfylde Fuller thought to resign, which was considered by the Muslims as a triumph of Hindu agitation. On the other hand the Secretary of State, Morely's announcement in his budget speech that the Government intended to

⁵⁰ Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, op.cit., p. 142.

⁵¹ Shan Mohammad, *Successor of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 51.

⁵² AIG, August 29, 1906.

increase the size and the powers of the legislative councils⁵³ led the Muslim community to think for their political share in the Government administration.

John Morley's budgetary speech gave rise to wide spread concern among the Muslims for safeguarding their political rights in the forthcoming constitutional framework. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan pointed out the urgency of the 'Muslim interest' and laid emphasis on the fact that a certain number of seats be allotted to Muslims both in the Imperial and Provincial councils.⁵⁴

All these developments led to the growth of Muslim separatism in India started with the formation of Shimla Deputation in 1906 and a little later to the foundation of the All India Muslim League which was brought high point of separatism among Muslims of India.

(3) Formation of Shimla Deputation and Creation of Muslim League

The beginning of the twentieth century was a period of great strain and frustration for the Muslims of India. The Urdu-Hindi controversy and passing of the Nagri resolution created havoc in the Muslim community. The post-partition period also brought anxiety in Muslim community and the anti-partition movement further created apprehensions among the Muslim as they saw Eastern Bengal and Assam Province as Muslim province and a choice to improve their socio-economic status there. Thus the gap created by Urdu-Hindi controversy among Muslims and British Government due to Urdu-Hindi controversy, led Muslims to think about to bridge this gap and thus they needed a political organization to put their demands and grievances in front of the British Government and also to show their loyalty to the British Government. In this way Muslim became politically conscious during the period of Urdu Hindi controversy and thus Viqarul Mulk was able to form the Muhammadan Political Association in 1903 and many other associations were

⁵³ . See extract from Morley's speech on the Budget, cited from Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 55. (*MintoPaper*)

⁵⁴ . *The Observer*, 18 August, 1906.

formed in the other parts of the country. But these organisations and associations were not working on the All India basis and the stage was provided to create an all Indian organization for Muslims during anti partition movement and the budgetary speech of Secretary of State, Morley in the House of Common provided a golden opportunity to Muslims to think over the political status as a separate community in India.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan pointed out that urgency of the Muslim interest and laid emphasis for certain seats to be allotted to the Muslims in Councils.⁵⁵ The *Observer* in its issue of August 18, 1906 in an article entitled '*Representative Government in India*' highlighted the point of Aftab Ahmed Khan'.⁵⁶ There was no dearth of such views in the other leading Urdu and Anglo-Indian papers, supporting the Muslim claim for due representation. This led to the formation of *Shimla Deputation* and little later to the foundation of the *All India Muslim League*.⁵⁷ On 4 August, Mohsinul Mulk advised Archbold, Morrison's successor as a Principal of MAO College that Morely's speech will produce a great tendency in the young educated Muslims to join the Congress"⁵⁸ and he asked if a memorial to the Viceroy would be possible, and thus the suggestion of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was encouraged. Even letters were written to Mohsinul Mulk regarding Muslim restlessness and action to be taken to draw official attention to Muslim representation. A long letter was that of Aftab Ahmed Khan who wrote to the *Pioneer*:

"That Muslims were to be appointed to the Imperial and Provincial Councils either by nomination or by election. So far as nomination was concerned, the Government should select those whom they regarded as influential and deserving of office recognition..... that Muslims be allotted a certain number of seats in the councils and

⁵⁵ . Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 55.

⁵⁶ . *The Observer*, August 18, 1906.

⁵⁷ . Shan Mohammad, *Successors of Sir Syed*, op.cit., p. 56.

⁵⁸ . Mohsinul Mulk to Archbold (Principal of MAO College), 4th August 1906 (Morley Papers) cited from Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, p. 142.

these should be filled up by Muhammadan elected by voters of their own community".⁵⁹

The correspondence of Mohsinul Mulk with Archbold led him to talk with the Viceroy Minto at Shimla. Archbold also felt that any agitation on the part of the Muslims would harm the British interests, so he followed the footsteps of his predecessor Morrison to safeguard their interests. With no delay he contacted Colonel J.R. Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to the Viceroy. In his covering letter he mentioned the miserable condition and frustration of Muslims and requested the Secretary of State for permission to be granted for a Muslim Deputation to wait on the Viceroy. Archbold assured Dunlop Smith that the Deputation would not bring forward anything 'in the slightest degree of disloyalty from the part of Muslim'.⁶⁰ The Viceroy was apprehensive of the Muslim claims being overlooked. He did not wish that their claims be side-tracked in the proposed reform scheme. To apprise Morley of the situation of Muslim India, he sent letter of Mohsinul Mulk to him and he himself agreed to receive the Deputation in Shimla. A formal appointment requesting the Viceroy to attend a Deputation of leading Mohammadan to wait upon him at Shimla, an address embodying their views was made. The Viceroy agreed to receive the deputation on October 1, 1906 at 11 a.m. at Shimla.⁶¹ On the other hand Mohsinul Mulk wrote back conveying thanks to him and said:

"Is it right for the Government to allow an important section of the Indian population, which has always supported and even depended on Government to safeguard its interests to be disappointed and get up a spirit of agitation like Hindus. I only hope that the Government of India would do something to subside the growing Mohammadan feeling and to remedy their helplessness".⁶²

⁵⁹ . *The Pioneer*, August 11, 1906.

⁶⁰ . Archbold to Dunlop Smith, August 9, 1906 (¼Minto Paper). Cited from Shan Mohammad, *Successor of Sir Syed*, p. 58.

⁶¹ . *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁶² . MohsinulMulk to Archbold, August 18, 1906 (Minto Paper as cited from Shan Mohammad, p. 59). Also see Mohsinul Mulk's letters in *Makateeb*. A collection of letters of NawabMohsinud Doula, MohsinulMulk, Syed Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur, Muneer Nawaz Jung VaNawabViqarud

After consulting some of the prominent Muslims viz. Syed Husain Bilgrami, Aftab Ahmed Khan, and Viqarul Mulk, the memorial was drafted by Nawab Imadul Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami. Its copies were sent to the leading Muslims all over India to elicit their opinion. Differences of opinion on certain issues arose and to erase out these differences Mohsinul Mulk called a meeting in Lucknow on September 16, 1906 to discuss the draft of the memorial and get final approval for it. The draft was thoroughly discussed and given final shape. The meeting also authorized Mohsinul Mulk to select the members of the Deputation.⁶³

A deputation consisting of thirty five prominent Muslims led by the Agha Khan, met the Viceroy at Shimla on October 1, 1906 and submitted a memorandum for more Muslim representation in judiciary, university bodies and legislative councils and demanded communal electorate for their representatives in the reformed councils.⁶⁴

The Viceroy acknowledged the grievances of the Muslims sympathetically.⁶⁵ Sir Lord Minto's reply to the Shimla Deputation did not make any statement with regard to the university proposal as the memorial also contained some paragraph regarding Muslim University. The memorial as claimed to represent the views of All Indian Muslims, but at Lucknow discussions Nawab Salimullah of Dacca and Nawab Ali Chaudhari insisted that the memorial should be based on the assurance that the partition of Bengal would be maintained but they were ignored by the Muslims of Northern India.⁶⁶ But after all it was a great

Doula. Viqarul Mulk Mohammad Haji Mushtaq Husain Khan Bahadur, Intisar Jung, published by Shamsi Machine Press, Aligarh edited by Muhammad Amin Zubari, Marahawari.. Hereafter *Makateeb*.

⁶³. See *Makateeb* Letter No. 37, 39, pp. 47-49. Also see Letter No. 35. This is a very detailed letter giving everything about the preparation of Simla Deputation.

⁶⁴. See "The Muslim address to his Excellency, the Earl of Minto" October 1, 1906; Morely Papers (Microfilm copy) NML, Reel No. 6, vol. 35, See para 5, 6, 9, 13.

⁶⁵. B.L. Grover, *A Documentary Study of British Policy Towards Indian Nationalism, 1885-1909*, Delhi, National Publication, 1967, pp. 270-3.

⁶⁶. Matur Rahman, *From Consultation to Confrontation: A Study of the Muslim League to British Indian Politics, 1906-1912*, London, 1970, p. 22.

achievement and success of Aligarh leadership, particularly of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Syed Husain Bilgrami and to some extent of Nawab Viqarul Mulk who offered advice to Mohsinul Mulk that such kind of memorial was prepared which contained the demand of Muslims of India.⁶⁷

The memorial was the achievement of Muslim intellectuals and it was concerned for their Muslim community but to many historians the Shimla Deputation was the work of British statesmanship and they call it a Command Performance.⁶⁸ There are two schools of thought regarding the brain behind the Shimla Deputation. Patwardhan and Ashok Mehta, Ram Gopal, Rajendra Prasad, Lal Bahadur, Mohammad Ali, B.M. Chaudhari, have assessed that the Muslim deputation was planned by the Government to offer resistance to national activities. But recent historians, viz. S.R. Wasti, M.N. Das, Matiur Rahman, Francis Robinson, David Lelyveld, M.S. Jain, G.L. Verma, Amlesh Tripathi, R. Coupland etc. have rightly shown that Mohsinul Mulk was the originator. But this is wrong estimate of Muslim political consciousness and it was Muslim aspirations of their grievances which compelled them to prepare such a memorial. Syed Raza Wasti has also rightly observed that the inspiration for the formation of Shimla Deputation came from within rather than from without.⁶⁹

As the memorial of Shimla Deputation did not touch the point regarding the assurance for the partition of Bengal would be maintained as it raised by Nawab Samiullah of Dacca and Nawab Ali Chaudhury. At this juncture, Nawab

⁶⁷ Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, op.cit., p. 143.

⁶⁸ There are two schools of thought regarding the brain behind the Shimla Deputation. Patwardhan and Ashok Mehta, Ram Gopal, Rajendra Prasad, Lal Bahadur, Mohammad Ali, B.M. Chaudhri have asserted that the Muslim deputation was planned by the British Government to offer resistance to nationalist activities. But recent historians viz. S.R. Wast, M.N. Das, Matiur Rehman, Francis Robinson, David Lelyveld, M.S. Jain, G.L. Verma, Amlesh Tripathi, R. Coupland etc. have rightly shown that Mohsinul Mulk was the originator of the Shimla Deputation. For their views about Simla Deputation, see the following – Rajendra Prasad – *A Communal Triangle in India* (Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1942, p. 112); M.S. Jain – op.cit., pp. 153-6; Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, op.cit., p. 337-38; Lal Bahadur – *The Muslim League, Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Agra, 1954), p. 98. Ram Gopal – *Indian Muslims*, (Bombay, 1959), p. 98.

⁶⁹ Syed Razi Wasti. *Lord Minto and Indian Nationalist Movement*, Oxford, 1960, p. 76.

Salimullah was planning to found a ‘*Muslim All India Confederacy*’⁷⁰ to counteract the influence of Congress.⁷⁰ He circulated the members of the Shimla deputation with suggestion that an *All India Muslim Political Association* should be founded. The influential Muslims unanimously agreed to form an association. In November, Salimullah announced that he was going to found an All India Muslim Confederacy and asked associates to send delegates from all over India to the *All India Educational Conference* to be held at Dacca.⁷¹ At this stage, Aligarh leaders feared that the unhappy Muslim youth perhaps might join Salimullah’s organization as they were unhappy with the Viceroy because the statement or commitment with regard to the University proposal was not taken up by Viceroy Lord Minto in his reply to the Shimla Deputation. And hence in Aligarh leaders left for Dacca to capture the key posts in the newly proposed Muslim organization of Salimullah in which they succeeded and the importance of Aligarh leadership was maintained at All India basis.⁷² On December 30, 1906 with the session of *All India Mohammadan Educational Conference* being over, several hundred Muslim delegates assembled at Decca and Viqarul Mulk was voted to the chair. In his Presidential address, Viqarul Mulk said that the time and circumstances made it necessary for Musalmans to unite in an association to safeguard their rights.⁷³ He was followed by Nawab of Dacca who emphasized the need for increased political activity. Thereafter a resolution was introduced which resolved to form a Political Association styled as the *All India Muslim League* with object to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India. Thus the Muslim League was founded at Dacca which integrated the small Muslims associations into a Central body to put Muslim demand to Government more vigorously. A provisional committee was set up with Mohsinul Mulk and Viqarul

⁷⁰. See Muslim League Documents, Vol. I, pp. XIV-XIX.

⁷¹. Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, p. 148.

⁷². Ibid., pp. 148-49.

⁷³. Syed Sharfuddin Peerzada, *Foundation of Pakistan*, Karachi, vol. I, (1906-1924), pp. 2-5.

Mulk as joint secretaries to frame a constitution of the League and to get it approved in a meeting to be convened within 4 months of the framing of the constitution.⁷⁴

In this way the formation of the Muslim League was nothing but a carrying forward of the views of the *Mohammadan Political Association* as referred to earlier. The motive that compelled the Aligarh leadership to work assiduously for a political association on an All India level was the same, i.e. the protection of their rights under the British Raj. The small associations such as the *Central National Muhammadan Association*, and the *Muhammad Literary Society*, Calcutta and many other *Anjumans* were undoubtedly with their branches all over India trying to ameliorate the conditions of the Muslim but their influence had waned and an *All India Muslim Political Organisation* urgently needed and thus the formation of the *All India Muslim League* filled the gap after two decades of the formation of the Indian National Congress.

(F) Nawab Viqarul Mulk and his Role in Aligarh Movement

After the death of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk appeared on the horizon of Muslim politics in 20th century who succeeded Mohsinul Mulk as the *Honorary Secretary* of M.A.O. College and assumed the Muslim leadership.

The educational movement of Sir Syed for the Muslim community also had great impact on the mind of Nawab Viqarul Mulk and he became a follower and an assistant of Sir Syed for the cause of Muslim community. He wrote in his article on the problems of Muslim education which won second prize in the contest organized by the *Committee of Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning Amongst the Mohammedans of India*.⁷⁵ As thirty two articles were submitted to the

⁷⁴. Shan Mohammad, *Successor of Sir Syed*, op.cit., pp. 66-67. For further details of the formation of Muslim League, see, M.L. Becker, "All India Muslim League, 1906-46 A Study of Leadership" (Ph.D. Thesis, Redcliff College 1957, New Delhi, Nehru Museum Library Microfilm Copy No. 531.

⁷⁵. AIG, January 12, 1872.

Committee from all over India and Nawab Viqarul Mulk's article adjudged second after Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and they suggested ways and means to the problem of Muslim Education in India and causes for the Muslim abstention from Government schools.⁷⁶ Even Sir Syed was impressed by the work of Nawab Viqarul Mulk. When Sir Syed was transferred from Aligarh to Benaras he wrote remark on Nawab Viqarul Mulk services book that:

"Munshi Mushtaq Husain Sheristedar is enough capable, hardworking man... I have belief on the honesty of this officer as I had on my death..."⁷⁷

Viqarul Mulk was a fearless man who never hesitated speaking the truth. He succeeded Mohsinul Mulk in 1908 as the *Honorary Secretary* of the College and during his period of Secretaryship marked the climax of the differences between Principal and the Trustee of the College. His period also witnessed anti-British feelings which had taken root among the students the MAO College. He himself did not bear the British influences in the College affairs and even during the life time of Sir Syed, he occasionally differed from the Sir Syed's attitude of supporting European in the college affairs and the same temperament was maintained by Nawab Viqarul Mulk when he became the Honorary Secretary to the MAO College and later he tried to curb the influence of European staff in the College affairs.

Muslim education was the focal point of his devotion and for the cause of imparting modern education he sided with Sir Syed, while he himself did a lot to improve the Mohammadan Educational Conference and even suggested some modification to make it a more effective body⁷⁸ which the vehicle of speedy the message of Aligarh movement to the Muslim community.

⁷⁶ AIG, July 26, 1872.

⁷⁷ Cited from *Viqar-e-Hayat*, p. 9.

⁷⁸ See, Viqarul Mulk's, Letter to Sir Syed in *Aligarh Institute Gazettee*, October 29, 1891.

Nawab Viqarul Mulk took special interest in the teaching of Theology and Islamic practices at the M.A.O. College. As Moulvi Tufail Ahmed writes:

“In the past all Muslims prayed together but Nawab Viqarul Mulk initiated a policy of assigning separate places for Namaz for each sect. He started it by assigning a separate place of prayer to different boarding houses”.⁷⁹

During Sir Syed's days Nawab Viqarul Mulk was entrusted the work of Boarding House and he was the incharge of it where he looked after the dining hall, hostel management and general discipline of the students. Sir Syed wrote in *Tahzibul Akhlaq* regarding the religious and moral training of boarders by Nawab Viqarul Mulk who took attendance of students during and after Namaz by which they were taught the Islamic faith and their religious obligations under the strict supervision of Nawab Viqarul Mulk.⁸⁰

During the Annual Proceeding of *All Indian Mohammadan Educational Conference* held in Delhi in 1892, where Nawab Viqarul Mulk passed a resolution regarding religious education in Government Madrasa for the Muslim boys which brought a heated debate. The Lieutenant Governor of U.P. MacDonnell issued a circular through Director Public Instruction on 8 December 1896 in which, the right was bestowed to local Muslims to impart one hour religious education at Government *Maktab*.⁸¹ Nawab Viqarul Mulk also advocated the importance of the religious education imparted through the Nadwatul Ulema and he also supported its establishment for the cause of the religious education.⁸² After assuming the charge of Secretaryship of M.A.O. College, Nawab Viqarul Mulk took the initiative regarding the University Movement and the cause of establishing a Muslim University was accelerated. And when *University Commission* was

⁷⁹. S.K. Bhatnagar, *MAO College*, op.cit., p. 303.

⁸⁰. *Tahzibul Akhlaq*, 1879 (August) also see, *Viqar-e-Hayat*, p. 389-90 for religious moral training to the students of M.A.O. College.

⁸¹. See Proceedings of all India Muslim Education Conference, 1892.

⁸². See *Tazkirah-i-Viqar*, p. 132.

appointed in 1902 by Lord Curzon he, also submitted written statements and discussed at some length the structure and scope of the proposed Muslim University and said:

“By proposing such a University we do not mean to establish a Muhammadan University in every Indian Province. The fact is that all the Muhammadans of India feel interested in the Muhammadan College and it is required now to found a particular University for the Muhammadans which may fulfil their requirements. It does not seem necessary to have a dozen of Colleges affiliation but a suitable number of Muhammadan students in the College classes and adequate and satisfactory supply of materials required for the teaching of the course which the University may propose would in my opinion be enough to justify the establishment of such a University. The College of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, the Islamia Colleges of Bombay and Karachi and other national institutions, may be affiliated to the Muhammadan University. The time of placing the question of turning the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, into a University before the Government cannot be foretold. It is said that in the case of Muhammadans getting permission to found their own University, the other communities will also demand separate Universities for them. As to this point I may say that the founding of the Universities on principles of self-help should not be objected to”.⁸³

And he also sent a letter to Agha Khan (who was then residing in England) seeking his help in upgrading the College to a University.⁸⁴

On January 10, 1911 Nawab Viqarul Mulk convened a meeting to discuss ways and means for launching the University Movement. A *Muslim University Foundation Committee* was formed with His Highness the Agha Khan as President and Nawab Viqarul Mulk as Secretary. Nawab Muzamullah Khan, Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, Shaikh Abdur and Mr. Shaikh Ali were appointed Joint Secretary of the committee. A number of office bearers of Muslim organization and educational institutions, education of journals and papers, members of local

83. See *Observer* (Lahore), p. 3, 1902. Cited from K.A. Nizami, *History of Aligarh Muslim University*, op.cit., p. 40. The grandfather of Viqarul Mulk Mohammad Farid Ahmed assisted him in preparing the statement. See *Khutut-i-Viqarul Mulk*, ed. By Mushtaq Ahmed, Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh, 1974, p. 496.

84. A.B.A. Haleem, “The Aligarh Muslim University” in *History of Freedom Movement in Pakistan, Karachi*, Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. IV, p. 252.

and district bodies, Vakils, Zamindar and other sections of the Muslim intelligentsia were appointed member of the Committee. The Registrar of the M.A.O. College was appointed as Treasurer. In order to intensify the Fund Collection campaign it was proposed to establish Provincial Committees also. A small Committee was formed to organize deputation for the Collection of Funds.⁸⁵

Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee which was formed to realize the Sir Syed dream of establishing a University after the death of the founder and thus they had started the campaign for fund collection in 1898 with a target of ten lakhs rupees and had succeeded in raising hardly Rs. 2. 70.000 by 1910 and half of the amount was spent in paying off the College debts and the construction of buildings.⁸⁶ Sir Syed Fund Committee was replaced by the Muslim University Foundation Committee in 1911 with Agha as President and Viqarul Mulk as Secretary and various funds schemes e.g. *Sir Syed Memorial Fund*, *The One Rupee Fund* were also launched under the leadership of Agha Khan. and a country wide campaign was started for raising funds for the proposed university with a network of sub-committees with a Central Committee at Aligarh. The Agha Khan went out to beg from house to house as a mendicant and his right hand throughout the campaign was Shaukat Ali.⁸⁷

In this way the campaign for the Muslim University was carried out ahead by Nawab Viqarul Mulk with the help of other companions like Agha Khan, Raja Mahmoodabad, Shaikh Abdullah and many others during his Secretaryship of the M.A.O. College and thus University Movement got momentum during the time of Nawab Viqarul Mulk.

⁸⁵ K.A. Nizami, *History of Aligarh Muslim University*, op.cit., p. 52.

⁸⁶ *Principal's Annual Report, 1910-11, Calendar of M.A.O. College Aligarh 1911-12* (Allahabad: India Press, 1912), p. 3.

⁸⁷ Shaukat Ali (1873-1938). He was born at Rampur and graduated from Aligarh. He worked as Sub-Deputy Opium Agent till 1912 and then became the private Secretary to the Agha Khan. He was a good Cricketer at M.A.O. College and captained the team of MAO College on many occasions. He was Theodore Morison's favourite student and took active part in the field of College affairs as well as the national politics with his younger brother Mohammad Ali.

CHAPTER - IV

**SIR SYED'S ASSOCIATES
AND
MUSLIM INTELLECTUALS**

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SIR SYED'S ASSOCIATES AND MUSLIM INTELLECTUALS

Aligarh Movement gained support from the diverse groups of the Muslim community viz., Landlords, Zamindars, Nawabs, rulers of Muslim principalities, *Ulama* etc. But the support given by the Muslim intellectuals and associates of Sir Syed on various occasion, is remarkable in the history of Aligarh Movement. Muslim intellectuals and associates of Sir Syed were the bright brains of the Aligarh Movement who extended their helping hands to achieve the goals of Aligarh Movement as set by Sir Syed. Their views expressed in the official circle on various occasion pertaining to the University Movement made the demand of the Muslim University in 20th century a political issue of the Muslim community, after the death of Sir Syed. Thus Muslim intellectuals gave University Movement a political color in 20th century through the print media of the time and the same was considered as a vital demand of University by the British Government. Aligarh Movement was also proficiently carried onward by the successors and associates of Sir Syed and they played their vital role in achieving the mission of Sir Syed. Aligarh Movement also got a generous support from the different successive Vice Chancellors of the University after 1920. They made their every effort to make Aligarh Movement on the path of progress and by their efforts, it sustained quite successfully till 1947. It was also nurtured by the other successive Vice Chancellors in post partition period. Aligarh Movement is still alive and continued its efforts in providing modern and liberal education mission to the Muslim community of India not only but also to the whole world. Even today its door is open for all communities and nations to get all kind of education – modern, secular, scientific, religious etc. to all communities.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to highlight the contribution of the contemporaries of Sir Syed in Aligarh Movement. A humble attempt is also

made to shed light on the associates of Sir Syed who nurtured the institution established by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for the cause of providing modern education to his community. How the Muslim intellectuals and the successive Vice Chancellors provided their support and contribution to carry the Sir Syed's mission ahead have also been focused in this chapter.

[A] Sir Syed's Contemporaries and his Associates

Though Sir Syed had many friends and followers but only a few of them supported him in his educational movement for the Muslim community. His magnetic personality attracted a number of Muslims who extended their full support in carrying out the educational mission of Sir Syed ahead. Among them some were his contemporaries and some were his close friends who later became his associates who gave their cooperation through material and moral force during and after the life of Sir Syed.

A close examination of their role in Aligarh Movement and their views on the different issues of Aligarh Movement, particularly on the questions of the nature of the future Muslim University will bring out new facts and figures about the ever expanding Aligarh Movement. What kind of approach did they have about the political issues of Muslims and what extent their views were differed from Sir Syed views, will be examined in this chapter.

(1) Samiullah Khan (1834-1908)

Moulvi Samiullah Khan, one of the close associates of Sir Syed was born on 1834 at Delhi and received his traditional education at Delhi. He served as *Munsif* magistrate at Kanpur and Aligarh in 1858. He also served at Moradabad, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Rae Bareilly as sub-ordinate judge from 1837-1887. He served as district judge at Rae Bareilly from 1887-89. He went to visit three countries, namely to England in 1884, then he proceeded to Egypt

and his last visit was to Saudi Arabia for Haj. In 1892 he got retirement and died in 1908.¹

The family of Samiullah Khan had the same kind of bitter experiences and the misfortune suffered during the period of revolt as Sir Syed's family. The same notion of Muslims problems were felt by Samiullah Khan like Sir Syed and he believed that only providing western education to Muslims was the salvation of all cures to Muslim community. He thoroughly backed Sir Syed in his constructive, reformatory and educational programme.²

Moulvi Samiullah's greatest contribution was the support he provided during the establishment of M.A.O. College at Aligarh. On the instances of Sir Syed he extended his all possible help to the mission of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Even he was successful in getting contributions from the *Raises* of Aligarh and Bulandshahr, telling them that they could consider it an act of extortion or bribe or forcible contribution but they had to make a contribution to the College Fund³. And when the College was being established, and prior to its establishment Sir Syed had the opinion that College could be established only after having collected a sum of 15 lakh rupees but it was Moulvi Samiullah Khan who convinced Sir Syed that any further delay would prove fatal to the schemes of establishing M.A.O. College for the Muslim community⁴ and thus Sir Syed took the initiatives to established a small school rather than to focus on a College. Therefore the foundation of a school was laid in 1875 at Aligarh with the help of Samiullah Khan.

Sir Syed always took his advice on all matters and so much did he love Samiullah that after the foundation ceremony of the College and departure of the Viceroy Lord Lytton in 1877, Syed 'in the exuberance of his unbounded joy, embraced Moulvi Samiullah Khan, and thanked him before many intimate

¹. *Khutbat-i-Aliya* Part I (Presidential Addresses of the Muhammadan Educational Conference from 1886 to 1906, Muslim University Press, Aligarh 1927.), pp. 30-36 (Hereafter *Khutbat-i-Aliya*).

². See, Shan Mohanmmad, *Political Biography*, op.cit., p. 90.

³. The Aligarh Magazine, special Aligarh Number, 1953-54 to 1954-55, *Aligarh TahrikkeMemar*, Moulvi Bashiruddin, p.249. (Hereafter, *Aligarh Magazine*, Special Number).

⁴ *Khutbat-i-Aliya*, op.cit., p. 33..

friends, for the part he had played in making the affair a great success.⁵ In the College Annual Report of 1877, Sir Syed spoke highly about the services of Samiullah Khan and said that the College was highly indebted to him for the collection of funds and for the zeal with which, he worked despite insurmountable difficulties. And to acknowledge his profound sense of gratitude, Sir Syed affixed a marble slab at the Victoria Gate mentioning his services to the College.⁶ He also presided over the deliberations of the first session of the All India Muslim Educational Conferences which was held in Aligarh in 1886. Moulvi Samiullah Khan was very close to Sir Syed and had a great admiration of Western education, but he was not in favour of the English staffs influence in the College, he wanted that the Muslim students should get English education but they must live in an Islamic atmosphere and discipline which Sir Syed believed that unless they completely united with the Europeans, Muslim would be far behind the other communities of India.⁷

A serious difference occurred between Samiullah and Sir Syed on the question of the appointment of Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College. Sir Syed had the opinion about his brilliant son Syed Mahmood for this post and to get his appointment for life long Honorary-Secretary for which he amended a clause in the Trustee Bill in 1889 due to which there was great strain between Sir Syed and Samiullah Khan and this led to exclusion of Samiullah Khan from the College's affairs. But despite all these Samiullah Khan never criticized Sir Syed's efforts to impart modern education to the Muslim community and he remained a great supporter of Sir Syed Ahmad throughout his life. It was Samiullah Khan who was a co-founder of the *Maktab* (school in 1875 later MAO College in 1877 and AMU in 1920) which was established by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the foundation stone of Maktab was led by Samiullah Khan on the request of Sir Syed. He was the first to enroll his son in the newly established *Maktab* which later become M.A.O. College. Samiullah Khan had

⁵ A.M. Khawjah, *The Early Life of the first Student of the MAO College*, Allahabad, 1916, p. 6.
⁶ See *Khutbat-i-Aliya*, op.cit., p. 34.
⁷ *The Aligarh Magazine*, Special No. op.cit., p. 25.

some differences with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the matter of modern education imparted in M.A.O. College but despite his differences he remained a great support of Sir Syed throughout his life.

(2) Syed Mahmud (1850-1903)

Syed Mahmud was the younger son of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and who was educated at Delhi, Banaras and Cambridge University and served as judge of the Allahabad High Court as the judge of Allahabad High Court. He also served as a member of the *Education Commission* (1882) and the Member of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh Legislative Council from 1896 to 1897.⁸

After getting his Barrister Degree from Lincoln's Inn (England), he started his practice at North-Western Province's High Court. Thereafter he resigned over some petty issue with the judge of High Court and after his resignation; he came back to Aligarh and began teaching English in the M.A.O. College. Justice Syed Mahmud helped his father in formulation of his scheme of the College in England. As Sir Syed did not know English all his correspondence were taken up by Justice Syed Mahmud. While delivering his lectures in the session of Educational Conference in 1899, Sir Syed said:

"I am very thankful to Syed Mahmud for all the information that I have. I am glad to confess that had he not helped me my visit to England, would have been a failure".⁹

Syed Mahmud's services to the M.A.O. College were greater than those rendered by anyone else. He was aware of all that his father had done and wanted to do for the upliftment of the Muslims in India. As he had been associated with his father for so long time and had worked with him in the management of the College, he understood all problems of Sir Syed and therefore Sir Syed wanted to see Syed Mahmud as the next successor of M.A.O. College's *Honorary Secretary* after his death. Sir Syed was very much

⁸ S.C. Banerjee, "Recollections and Impressions", *Moslem Chronicle*, July 4, 1903 (Microfilm copy NML) Reel No. 6, pp. 361-62.

⁹ *Tazkirah Syed Mahmud Merhoom*, ed. By Mohammad Amin Zubari, published by All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, 1934, Aligarh, p.3.

confident regarding the potentials of Syed Mahmood as he had close links with the Europeans living in England and India. Sir Syed knew that Sir Mahmood could provide his best services in getting appointment of the European staff at M.A.O. College because of his close links and approach to the Europeans and Sir Syed also had the opinion that Syed Mahmood could get the British Government attention and cooperation by his approach in getting the financial aids from them to the M.A.O. College. Sir Syed also thought that Syed Mahmood could play a vital role in carrying out the management of the College and could effectively deal the official correspondence with the British Government as well. It was because of Syed Mahmud's efforts that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's educational scheme were successful because he used to see all the schemes of Sir Syed and put his all energy in getting executed the mission of Sir Syed. In this way Syed Mahmud helped his father to the capacity of his approach and dedicated his life for the cause of the Muslim community to fulfill the cherished dream of Sir Syed.

(3) Raja Jai Kishan Das (1832-1905)

Raja Kishan Das, popularly known as Raja Jai Kishan Das was born on 24th November, 1832 in a respected family of Mr. Brindaban Das Chaubey in Muradabad. His father was a respectable and influential figure in Muradabad. Jai Kishan Das completed his formal education in Muradabad and joined Civil Services as a treasurer in Tahseel and retired as a Deputy Collector. For his services, and to create a harmony between the government and people, he was awarded with Mutiny Medal. In 1860, received the title of RAJA and became Raja Jai Kishan Das.¹⁰ He belonged to a noble family of Allahabad. He received honors from the British Government, was due to his efforts to save many Europeans during the revolt of 1857 and was awarded the '*Mutiny Medal*' for his services. In 1869 he was honored with the insignia of C.I.E. from the British Government. He also served as Deputy Collector for several years. He was a great supporter of Aligarh Movement as he was a close friend

¹⁰ See, Karwaan-e-aligarh, website, accessed on, 8-10-12.

of Sir Syed. His grandfather was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the eminent jurist.¹¹ In 1860 when a severe famine occurred in the North-Western Provinces. Sir Syed was put in charge of the Moradabad District for relief work by John Strachey who was the Collector of that district. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was rendered his assistance to all the suffering people of famine in relief camp, where every possible arrangements were made by Sir Syed to look after the victims of famine, irrespective of creed and caste, where Raja Jai Kishan Das met Sir Syed and was quite impressed to see his humble services to an old man, earlier Raja Jai Kishan Das had not met Sir Syed and had been prejudiced against him after the publication of the "*Loyal Muhammadans of India*" because he considered Sir Syed a loyalist to British Government and he did not care about the people of other religions. But after noticing Sir Syed's devoted services to the other cause of other community in his relief camp changed the negative and communal perception of Raja Jai Kishan Das and he became a lifelong friend of Sir Syed.¹²

During the Ninth Session of the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* which was held at Aligarh in Strachy Hall, in 1893. On this occasion Sir Syed's grandson Ross Masood's *Bismillah* ceremony took place on Raja Jai Kishan Das's lap, as Ross Masood sat on his lap, and read the *Kalima*. It was a remarkable incident in the annals of Hindu-Muslim unity. On this occasion, Raja Jai Kishan Das made a donation of Rs. 500 to the construction of the Strachey Hall¹³ in the MAO College campus.

Raja Jai Kishan Das also extended his support and cooperation in carrying out the work of *Scientific Society* which was established by Sir Syed in 1864. When Sir Syed was transferred to Banaras, he entrusted the responsibility of *Scientific Society* to Raja Jai Kishan Das and served as Secretary of the *Scientific Society* while Sir Syed was in England. Raja Jai

¹¹ Sir Roper Letherbridge, *The Golden Book of India*, P.205. See for details Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit., p. 16.

¹² A.H. Hali, op.cit., p. 92.

¹³ For details, see the *Report of All India Muslim Educational Conference 1893*, also see, S.K. Bhatnagar, *MAO College*, op.cit., p. 108-09.

Kishan Das completed the unfinished work of the Society, so devotedly that when Sir Syed returned to Aligarh, he found the Society a changed body. Raja Jai Kishan Das held the post of Secretary of the Society for about 7 years and when he was transferred to Aligarh he was made the life Co-President of the Society. He had also been the Secretary and President of the *British Indian Association*.¹⁴ Raja Jaikishan Das was 15 years younger than Sir Syed and when he died in 1905, there was a wave of grief all over the College. The Students Union passed a condolence resolution. To perpetuate his memories the College instituted two medals, gold and silver, for meritorious students and created a hostel in his name in the present Sulaiman Hall and it was named as Jai Kishan Hostel.

(4) Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914)

Khawaja Altaf Hussain Hali was a close friend and associate of Sir Syed who contributed to the Aligarh Movement through his poetry. He was a great poet of Urdu and whenever needed he inspired the people through his wonderful poetry.

He was born at Panipat in district Karnal in Haryana State of India. His father passed away when he was of nine years old and his mother became mad, and subsequently brought up by his elder brother and sister. He received his traditional education at home. At the age of seventeen, he was married to a cousin and continues his efforts to get more education, and for this he went to Delhi, where he remained for one and half year. During his study period, he participated actively in the literary life of Delhi and recited verse at poetical gatherings (*Mushairas*), where he met poet of the age Mirza Assadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) and he became his disciple. There he also used to visit Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifia, a poet and literary connoisseur who was an intimate friend of Ghalib, who was also a landlord, and was looking for a tutor for his sons. And thus Maulana Hali was employed there to take care of his

¹⁴ Shan Muhammad, *The Aligarh Movement*, Educational Book House, 1999, p. 109 (Hereafter Shan Muhammad, *The Aligarh Movement*).

sons and to taught them and for this he remained there under his patronage for 8 years. In 1869 *Shaifta* and Ghalib both died and he became again jobless.¹⁵ He then secured a post in Punjab Government's Book Department in Lahore where his duties involved in revising style of text books that had been translated from English into Urdu for the Education Department. Nawab Shaifta had already introduced Maulana Hali to Sir Syed in one of the meetings of the *Scientific Society* at Aligarh. He had known very little about Syed Ahmad Khan but when he met him he became very much impressed.¹⁶

Maulana Hali was great admirer of Sir Syed's personality and his Aligarh Movement, and was so impressed with him that he wrote an article entitled "*Syed Ahmad Khan and his work*" published in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and he also became a regular contributor to the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and *Tehzibul Akhlaq* to which he considered as the greatest organ for reformation of the Muslim society.¹⁷

Hali's significant contribution to the Aligarh Movement apart from his poems and articles and his participation in the sessions of *All India Muslim Educational Conference* which led him to the composition of the epic poem "*Musaddas-e-Hali*" which he composed on Sir Syed's request to awaken the slumbering Muslims of India. It also contains an account of the glories of Muslims and laments their miserable condition after the great revolt of 1857 in India.¹⁸ In all meetings of the Muslims congregations, it was generally recited. In one of the Annual sessions of the All India Muslim Education Conference, he recited a very instructive poem that received great acclamation for its simplicity. Despite the great love for Sir Syed he never hesitated to oppose him during the Trustee Bill episode in 1889, he lent his support to Maulvi Samiullah. party. Hali did not only want the modern education for Muslim

¹⁵ . *Maarif*, Hali's Autobiography, 1927, pp. 347-350.

¹⁶ . *Hali Ka Taluq Sir Syed Aur Aligarh Sey* by Saliha Abid Husain, p. 135 in the Aligarh Magazine Special Number, op.cit., p. 135.

¹⁷ . Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁸ . Ibid., p. 139.

youth but he insisted upon the industrial and technical education for them also.¹⁹

With the great support and cooperation through Hali's poem to achieve their educational mission, Sir Syed was happy to see his mission fulfilled and he once said that if he was asked by God as to what had he done in the world he would reply that he had brought out *Mussadas* by Hali. Therefore Hali's contribution for the awakening of the Muslim community through his inspiring poetry was also acknowledged by Sir Syed. In 1914 Hali died and was buried in the tomb of well-known Sufi Bu Ali Qalandar at Panipat.

(5) Maulana Shibli Nomani

Maulana Shibli Nomani was a great scholar, a man of outstanding caliber, biographer, and historian and was the founder of the literary criticism in Urdu. He had received his traditional education from different places like Azamgarh, Banaras and Ghazipur. He went to perform Haj at the age of 20 year.²⁰ In 1881 he came to Aligarh and a year later he was appointed as an Assistant Professor of Arabic and Persian at the salary of Rs. 40 per month and was promoted to the post of Professor on the salary of Rs. 70 in 1886.²¹ Sir Syed provided congenial atmosphere to Shibli Nomani at Aligarh, where he developed his mental faculties and thus improved his literary sense in the company of his mentor Sir Syed. Sir Syed provided accommodation and permitted him to make use of his library. It was in the company of Sir Syed that he developed scholarship of a high order and became a radiant and a figure in the sphere of Urdu literature that a few could equal him. From very beginning he started writing inspiring poems addressed to the students of the M.A.O. College. His poem "*Subh-e-Umeed* deserves special credit in this connection. When the foundation of the *Muhamamdan Education Conference* was laid in 1886, Shibli

¹⁹ Dr. Moin Hasan Jazbi, *Hali Ke Siyasi Shaur*, p. 95.

²⁰ Shan Muhammad, *Political Biography*, op.cit., p. 120. Also see *Tazkirah-i-Shams ul Ulema Maulana Shibli Merhoom*, ed. By Muhammad Mehdi, published by All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, 1934, Aligarh, p. 5.

²¹ AIG, 12 Feb. 1887.

Nomani also joined it and planned to develop education for the Muslims community. In 1892 he also visited Asia Minor, Egypt and other Islamic countries by which he developed his wide range of experiences through these tours and also developed in him a taste for Islamic learning and faith, and also created in him a sense of revolt against English and western liberalism.²²

Though Shibli Nomani was much influenced by the personality of Sir Syed but he could not wholly reconcile himself to his position and always presented a mild opposition to him. The differences occurred with Sir Syed on the question of the neglect of Islamic studies at Aligarh and total acceptance of western mode of education as propagated by Sir Syed. He resigned in 1899 from Aligarh and was employed by Syed Husain Bilgrami at Hyderabad in Education Department Hyderabad. Why Shibli Nomani left Aligarh and on what point of difference between Shibli Nomani and Sir Syed developed is a matter of concern. In a letter to a friend, Shibli wrote from Aligarh that, English educated section among the Muslims was the worst, since it claimed to prove that all religious teachings were false. All things that made men courageous and broad minded were sadly lacking in the College and Aligarh's students position about modern education, his views only presented 'an exhibition of coats and pants'.²³ While Shibli wanted that English to be taught but only to the extent that students might be able to read the name boards of shops or could perform transactions in banks. According to Sir Syed the only way to achieve progress was the assimilation of all things Europeans by Muslim except the Christian religion, while to Shibli only those things were to be accepted with which could not hindered religious belief.²⁴ Also Sir Syed interpreted Islam from the stand point of the values of the West while Maulana Shibli approached Western values from the view point of Islam. His programme of reform was not based on any new criterion; he wanted to reform the Muslim community from within. These were some basic differences

²² . Shan Muhammad, *Political Biography*, op.cit., p. 103.

²³ . Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, *Hayat-i-Shibli*, 1943, p. 131.

²⁴ . Ibid., p. 290.

between Maulana Shibli and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. It was for these reasons that he turned into a great supporter of Nadwatul Ulema, founded about 1893-94 for the study of Islamic studies. And this idea of Shibli is further clarified in a letter to Maulana Habibur Rahman Khan, Sherwani, in which he wrote – “I want to join *Nadwa* only to perform a religious duty. For worldly honour and reputation, the field of Aligarh is good enough”.²⁵ Thus Shibli developed his inclination towards *Nadwa* and joined it to fulfill his inner desire to have religious education and Islamic faith for the Muslim community and thus Maulana Shibli left Aligarh and joined Nadwatul Ulema at Lucknow.

(6) Moulvi Zakaullah (1832-1910)

Munshi Zakaullah²⁶ to whom Moulvi Nazir Ahmad calls a ‘disciple’ of Sir Syed was a strong supporter of Aligarh Movement Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940) writes about him:

“His eyes used to light up with eager enthusiasm at the mention of the name of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of Aligarh M.A.O. College. There could be no question who was Munshi Zakaullah’s greatest hero; it was Sir Syed. Sir Syed’s portrait had the central place of honour in his own sitting room. Books relating to Sir Syed, or else written by him, were conspicuous in his shelves, and constantly in his hands. He used all times to speak about him with greatest reverence and admiration. He would give me his lectures to read, and ask my opinion about them, saying that to they seemed to point out clearly the one true pathway of development for the Musalmans in India...”²⁷

It was Sir Syed who pursued him to write the *History of India*. His son Enayatullah (1869-1943) received his education at Aligarh. Zakaullah made his mark in the field of translation and rendered a number of English works into

²⁵ . Maulana Shibli’s letter to Moulvi Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani dated 6 Sept. 1902. See *Makatib-i-Shibli* ed. By Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, p. 150.

²⁶ . Moulvi Zakaullah (1832-1910). Zakaullah of Delhi, son of Hafiz Sanaullah, was born in 1832, in a family noted for scholarship and piety. His ancestors brought into India the noble traditions of learning which savoured of Baghdad and Bukhara. In Delhi they enjoyed the privileges of being royal tutors imparting sacred knowledge to the Mughal princes and that position passed on from father to son. Zakaullah got his early education from his grandfather, Maulana Baqaullah and enrolled him as a regular student of Delhi College and got chance to serve at Muir College Allahabad and remained there for 37 years. He came close to Sir Syed and worked for as his Lieutenant and collected funds for his Aligarh Movement.

²⁷ . C.F. Andrews, Zakaullah of Delhi, Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1929, p. 95-97 (Hereafter C.F. Andrew Zakaullah of Delhi).

Urdu. Sir Syed had very great affection for him and encouraged him to write articles for *Tehzibul Akhlaq*.

Zakaullah belonged to a family which had for many generations acted as the tutors to the Royal household at Delhi and had earned great distinction in Islamic literature. He had the honour of being a disciple of Maulana Imam Baksh whose *nomde plume* was Sahbai. Later he joined Delhi College and specialized in Mathematics under Professor Ram Chandra and joined the *Muir Central College, Allahabad*, as a Professor of Persian and Mathematics, and got retirement as a Pensioner, in 1887. And thereafter offered his services to Sir Syed's M.A.O. College and was elected 'Life Honorary Professor of Mathematics' in the meeting of Managing Committee held on the 6th July, 1887.²⁸ Zakaullah wanted that the Western education could be imparted in the Indian languages to provide western sciences and liberal education through the medium of vernacular language to get its wide access to the Indian and for this he considered Urdu as essential to the study of Islamic philosophy and religion. And here he differed from Sir Syed who wanted all education to be imparted through the medium of English. Nevertheless he remained a whole hearted supporter of Aligarh Movement. In spite of his differences he always held Sir Syed in high esteem and honour. He was a man of humorous disposition and nick named the member of Sir Syed's touring party in Punjab as 'Chahgum' which might be translated as (carefree).²⁹ So he was a great admirer of Sir Syed and his Aligarh Movement. And thus remained a great supporter of Sir Syed's educational mission and extended his cooperation by constantly contributing his thoughts on modern education in *Tehzibul Akhlaq* and he served Aligarh Movement through his services as Professor of Mathematics at M.A.O. College and through his writings in *Tehzibul Akhlaq* in praise of modern education for which Sir Syed launched his Aligarh Movement.

²⁸ . See AIG, in 12th July 1887, cited from Shan Muhammad, *Political Biography*, op.cit., p. 98.

²⁹ . C.F. Andrews, *Zakaullah of Delhi*, op.cit., p. 139

[B] Muslim Intellectual's Role in Aligarh Movement

Sir Syed had many friends and followers, but few of them took interest in his educational movement. There were other Muslims intellectuals, who also contributed to the Aligarh Movement through their political stand in the different phases of the struggle for University Movement and demanded greater autonomy for the proposed University from British Government. Their public opinion acted as a catalyst to the British Government and the latter paid attention to their opinion regarding the struggle for the University Movement after the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The scheme of Muslim University as visualized by the Muslim intellectuals in 20th century and they had great importance in making Aligarh Movement a more political struggle of the Muslim community. A study of their views, on the nature and prospects of the future Muslim University, will shed light on the political struggle to get future Muslim University and it would also provide a different dimension to the Aligarh Movement in 20th century.

(1) Agha Khan (1877-1957)

Agha Khan was a wealthy leader of the Ismaeli sect of Muslims. His role in University Movement was a catalyst for the Muslim community because he revolutionized the struggle for the University Movement and involved himself actively in this struggle to raise the M.A.O. College to the status of Muslim University. He also channelized his all energy for the University Movement through door to door campaign for the fund collection, for which he hired a special railway carriage and went to different places to garner the support and cooperation from the Muslim community with Shaukat Ali for the University Movement.³⁰ Agha Khan made the struggle for the University Movement a political movement of Muslims of India. During the session of *All India Muhammad Educational Conference* at Nagpur in 1910, he issued a 'now or never' appeal, and put his all energy and enthusiasm to collect funds to

³⁰ . See David Lelyveld and Gail Minault, *Campaign for University Movement*, op.cit., pp. 161-162.

establish the Muslim University. The *Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee* was replaced by *Muslim University Foundation Committee* under the presidency of the Agha Khan.³¹ On the question of the affiliation of Colleges with the future Muslim University, Agha Khan through his speeches stressed that the Muslim University would affiliate Colleges on the Aligarh model all over India. Agha Khan told an audience in Karanchi on the question of the affiliation of the Colleges to the future university at Aligarh:

“... The next step will be to have a network of Mohammedan Colleges all over India on the lines of the present Aligarh College... Sind will be one of the first to get a College”.³²

He highlighted the need for an affiliating University at Aligarh. While Presiding over the Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Delhi in 1902, he stated that one of the surest way to avert the decay of Muslim power would be the foundation of a Muslim University with a power to affiliate Colleges all over the India which he thought to be “intellectual capital and a home of elevated ideas and noble ideals” and which would be provided modern education in a “Muslim atmosphere”.³³

In this way Agha Khan inspired the Muslim community to have such kind of university with power of affiliation all over India.

(2) Maulana Mohammad Ali (1878-1931)

Maulana Mohammad Ali was born at Rampur. His grandfather had received a large property in Moradabad for saving the lives of some European in 1857. His father and uncle entered the Rampur State Service and lived jointly in large *Mahal* (Haweli) in the Rampur town. His mother who later became famous for her active role in the Khilafat Movement, came from a family that had lost some eighty two villages in Moradabad district for opposing the Britishers in

³¹ Ibid., p. 163.

³² *Comrade*, 27 January 1912.

³³ Agha Khan's speech, cited in Naoroji M. Dumasia, *The Agha Khan and His Ancestors: A Biographical and Historical Sketch* (Bombay: Times of India Press, 1939), pp. 183-84, 187-8.

1857. His father died while he was two years old and was raised by his mother and several uncles.³⁴

Mohammad Ali belonged to the First Generation of students of Aligarh's M.A.O. College who were stepping their feet on the 20th century politics of India and Mohammad Ali was one of them who was very active in the contemporary politics of country and particularly in the Muslim politics. He was the product of MAO College later went to Oxford to get higher degrees and after his returned from there he wanted to get a teaching post at Aligarh in M.A.O. College but the same was denied because of his radical and nationalists attitude which was not liked by British Government as well as the pro Muslim factions of the College and the Trustees then he joined a job at Baroda State.³⁵

Mohammad Ali's role in Aligarh Movement was similar to those of Aftab Ahmad Khan and Sir Ziauddin. Aftab Ahmad Khan and his associate had greater control over the affairs of the M.A.O. College through the *Old Boys Association*, a body founded by them. To get the same control on the affairs of the M.A.O. College and on the Old Boys Association, Mohammad Ali and his elder brother Shaukat Ali played active role in the College campus. Mohammad Ali also wanted to rescue the College from the control of the British faculty and when Mohammad Ali failed to get a post at M.A.O. College despite the recommendation of Mohsinul Mulk (Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College), Theodore Morison the Principal of the College rejected Mohammad Ali's application. In a letter to the Secretary of MAO College Mohammad Ali mention that:

"Every unbear European will pose to be a Pharoah. Neither there will remain any prudence nor well any power left with you if you remain silent".³⁶

³⁴ David Lelyveld, *Three Students of Aligarh*, op.cit., pp. 231-232.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Mohammad Ali's letter to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, 26 November, 1908 in Allah Bakash Yusufi, *Life of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar* (Karachi, Mohammad Ali Educational Society, 1970), pp. 153-54.

Due to the inability of Mohammad Ali to get a faculty position at M.A.O. College, he became harsh critics of pro-British factions of the College and never wanted the domination of Europeans in the college affairs. And throughout his life he remained a radical and played a very important role in the national politics of the 20th century.

It was also because of the students strike in 1907 at M.A.O. College and Mohammad Ali's support to the students and his invitation of Gokhale to Pro-British institution made Europeans staff skeptical towards Mohammad Ali. Invitation of Gokhale³⁷ by Mohammad Ali made him unpopular in the eyes of British and European staff and therefore in future he was denied any post in the College. Mohammad Ali also became a bitter critic of Europeans staff at the College and he desired to reduce the influence and control of European staff and British Government on M.A.O. College and for the same he tried his best throughout his life.

On the issue of the nature of the Future Muslim University, Mohammad Ali wanted to have a residential university with power of affiliation and he justified the creation of such university which would not only impart training to the Youngman in "Islamic character rather than an instruction in text books of Islamic theology", but also to "guide Muslim education" throughout India. To achieve these, he wanted to evolve a special type of education by combining "Eastern matter and Western manner", in a residential university which would be open to all the Muslim students of the world irrespective of Shia Sunni differences. He clarified that the proposed university meant only an "expansion of Aligarh" and hoped that it would aimed at "nothing short of the regeneration of the Indian Mohammedans". This basically, there was no contradiction between the idea of Sir Syed and Mohammad Ali³⁸ who wanted a residential university at Aligarh which would have an All India status which the power of affiliation of the colleges and also to have the facility to cater the needs of the

³⁷ See Mohammad Ali to Gopal Krishna Gokhale, 8 February 1908, File No. 341, Gokhale Papers (NML), Delhi.

³⁸ See S.Y. Shah, op.cit., p. 186.

Muslims to provide the modern as well as the Islamic learning to the Muslim community.

(3) Justice Syed Amir Ali (1842-1926)

One of the Muslim intellectuals of India who took keen interest in the University movement after the death of Sir Syed was Syed Amir Ali³⁹, the founding president of the *National Muhammadan Association* of Calcutta. Justice Amir Ali supported the Morison's idea of a denominational and residential university⁴⁰ in the scheme of the proposed university.⁴¹ But he opposed the idea of making the study of Arabic language compulsory beyond lower standard. For it he considered that to force the youth to devote the whole or a considerable portion of the energy to study such a difficult language (?) was to handicap them at the very start. He believed that "a nation which tried to wrap itself in the mantle of dead past was doomed to extinct".⁴²

In his proposed university he stressed the significance of imparting Islamic ethical teachings and training of the heart and head, instead of lips so as to make the Muslim youth "true Islamites instead of merely professed Muslims".⁴³ He hoped that aim of its promoters should be directed to the steady advancement of the Mohammedans of India so as to bring them into line with the "progressing and progressive communities" of the West.⁴⁴

³⁹ . Syed Amir Ali (1849-1928) was born at Chinsura and educated at Hoogly College and England. He practiced law at Calcutta and was elected as fellow of Calcutta University (1874). He founded Central Muhammadan Association (1876) and was its Secretary during 1876-1904. He served as Presidency Magistrate (1871-81) and was a member of the Imperial Legislative council (1883-85) and retired as the High Court Judge (1890-04).

⁴⁰ . Theodore Morison gave his idea to establish a separate Muslim University, which would not be different from the MAO College. It was to be the enlargement of the College and it would be a residential university. He also suggested the formation of faculties of European Arts, Science and Oriental Studies respectively. He also made it clear that rudimentary theology should be compulsory taught to all and moral and scientific training should go side by side. Thus he advocated for separate university for the Muslim community. See for details Theodore Morison, "A scheme for the proposed Mohammadan University", File No. 5, p. 6 (Bilgrami Papers), Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi.

⁴¹ . Justice Amir Ali, 'Note on the Mohammadan University. Proposal' File No. 5, pp. 59-63 (See Bilgrami Paper).

⁴² . Justice Amir Ali, 'Note on the Mohammedan University Prpposal' op.cit., p. 62.

⁴³ . Ibid., p. 63.

⁴⁴ . Ibid., p. 61.

So this was the view of Syed Amir Ali who expressed his views regarding the proposed university and who wanted a Muslim University in the form of residential university, and who also put more emphasis that the Muslims youth, should be given a moral and ethical learning with theological instruction to them in his proposed scheme of University.

(4) Syed Hussain Bilgrami (1842-1926)

Imadud Doula Syed Hussain Bilgrami was an eminent scholar, an educationist and an ardent supporter of Sir Syed's political ideology.⁴⁵ He joined Syed Amir Ali in criticizing the unsuitability of the Government system of education to the needs of Muslims and upholding the importance of imparting practical religious education to them.⁴⁶ Like Amir Ali he also feared that organizing a distinct faculty of oriental learning at the proposed university would dissipate the small amount of funds. On the other hand he felt the need for a faculty of physical science, as it would enable the Muslims to corrects their "peculiar errors of mind" and give the old world Moulvis a newer organ.

He wanted to establish a residential university on the British model, to mould the lives of the youth after the best European models of excellence and to direct their moral and mental tendencies towards lofty ideas, for which he preferred a residential university. Since he believed that Mohammedans of India were not a united people and their co-operations of the best interests were as divergent as the localities in which they lived and feared that left to itself, Aligarh College would not develop into anything higher but would in all probability degenerate into an "ill taught and worsened disciplined *Maktab* of

⁴⁵ When Sir Syed decided to keep away from the Congress Movement and founded Patriotic Association to oppose Congress demands, Syed Husain Bilgrami congratulated him and stated that the Congress movement was an "engine for turning the rest into unrest". Syed Hussain Bilgrami to Sir Syed Ahmad dated 20 August 1888, File No. 3, Part III, Bilgrami Papers (BP), Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi.

⁴⁶ For detail see, Presidential Speech of Syed Husain Bilgrami at Mohammad Educational Conference held at Meerut, 30th December 1896, File No. 3, Part III (Bilgrami Papers), Nehru Museum Library, Delhi.

the old type" he justified the expansion of the M.A.O. College into a full-fledged residential university.⁴⁷

According to Bilgrami helping the College to expand it into a distinguished seat of Western and Eastern learning was the most important duty of the Mohammadan and hence he exhorted them not to rest till sufficient funds were raised for that purpose.⁴⁸

He also drew attention of his community towards the necessity of seeking cooperation of the Hindus and associating them with their venture for he observed that the Hindus were far ahead than the Muslims and so the latter would be benefited by such an association.⁴⁹

Therefore we can say that he wanted a university to build up as centre of 'Musalman thought, culture and teaching' which would influence the vast Mohammadan population of India in the right direction by elevating their ideals, reforming their morals and manners and purifying their literature.⁵⁰

(5) Justice Badruddin Tayyabji (1844-1909)

The Muslim politics also played a dominant role in Aligarh's politics for University Movement and the idea of Muslim University continued to dominate the thoughts of the leaders of the community who were not even connected to the political ideology of Aligarh leadership. Badruddin Tayyabji⁵¹ who was the first Barrister from Muslim community and later he became the third President of Congress in 1887 at Madras.

⁴⁷ . Syed Husain Bilgrami, *The Mohammadan University*, Hyderabad, 23rd December 1898. File No. 5, *Bilgrami Papers*.

⁴⁸ . See reply of Syed Husain Bilgrami to an address presented to him at Aligarh dated 18th Feb. 1900. File No. 18, Part III (*Bilgrami Papers*).

⁴⁹ . See Syed Husain Bilgrami's Presidential address at Mohammadan Educational Conference, held at Rampur, 1900 File No. 9, Part III, pp. 24-25, Bilgrami papers.

⁵⁰ . Ibid., pp. 24-25.

⁵¹ . Educated at Elphinston College, Bombay and London. He was called to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1882 and president of Indian National Congress in 1887. He founded Anjuman-i-Islam at Bombay.

Sir Syed had correspondence with Tayyabji and had made an attempt to convince him of the disadvantages of joining Congress⁵² but he opposed the idea of Sir Syed.

During his presidential address to the *Muhammadan Educational Conference* held Bombay in 1903. Badruddin Tayyabji expressed his views regarding the establishment of the proposed Muslim University. He believed that "a good university conducted on a social basis was necessary to maintain *spirit-de-corps* among the Muslims, inculcating moral principles, to cultivate discipline and important good religious instructions. But he felt that a number of efficient Colleges and educational institutions for Mohammedan throughout India should be established prior to the university, so as to provide a firm foundation. "We can do without a university but we cannot do without local educational institutions."⁵³ Thus in a realistic manner he drew the attention of the proponents of the idea of a university to review their demand and rightly considered the proposal to be premature".⁵⁴ Though he was not against the establishment of the Muslim University but he also wanted to see the establishment of Colleges and that should be established throughout the country for Muslims, then he wanted a Muslim University at Aligarh.

(6) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

The other important Muslim personality who was not associated with the Aligarh Movement was a Muslim leader was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad⁵⁵ who had contempt for Aligarh type of education⁵⁶, reacted by requesting the readers

⁵² Sir Syed's letter to Tayabji, 24th January 1888. Letter No. 9, Vol. 2, Tayabji Papers (Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi).

⁵³ Tayabji, Speech cited in Moslem Chronicle, 16th July, 1904, p. 38 (Microfilm Copy), Reel No. 6, NML, New Delhi.

⁵⁴ Lelyveld and Gail Minault, *University Movement*, op.cit., p. 157.

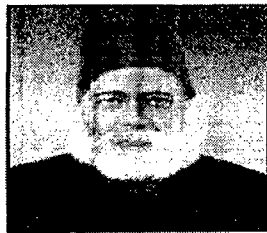
⁵⁵ He was educated at Calcutta Madrasa and *Nadwatul Ulema* at Lucknow. He started *Al-Hilal* journal. He was a staunch Congress man and served as the President of Indian National Congress 1936-1947 and after independence as the Union Minister of Education.

⁵⁶ Maulana Azad criticized Aligarh leadership for its "intellectual sterility" and observed that Aligarh system of education did not wish its better facilities of work, and modern amenities. It did not produce any encouraging number of scientists, philosophers, journalists, authors etc. G.R. Abduhu, traces the reason for Maulana Azad's criticism of Aligarh education due to his failure in finding a suitably educated Muslim to assist in his project on the compilation of the history of

SIR SYED AND HIS ASSOCIATES



SIR SYED AHMAD
KHAN (1817-1898)



SYED MAHMUD
(1850-1903)



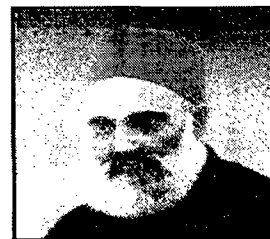
MOHSINUL MULK
(1837-1907)



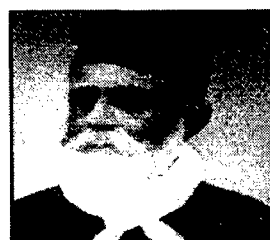
NAWAB ISMAIL
(1853-1922)



SAMIULLAH KHAN
(1834-1908)



VIQARUL MULK
(1814-1917)



ALTAF HUSAIN HALI
(1837-1914)



ZAKAULLAH
(1832-1910)



NAZIR AHMAD
(1831-1912)



MAULVI MOHD.
KARIM (1829-1892)



RAJA JAI KISHAN
DAS (1832-1905)



SHIBLI NOMANI
(1857-1914)

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
and
his successors and associates

of *Al-Hilal* to try for an “international university free from the Government control with uniform curriculum and affiliating the Colleges of the world”.⁵⁷ Like a true patriot he did not like the idea of Muslim community launching mass movement for an university in a colonial set up and he rightly wanted political freedom to precede all constructive and educational programmes, so as to ensure the atmosphere of autonomy in the sphere of higher learning.⁵⁸

Therefore, Maulana Azad was not in favour of the scheme of Muslim university to be established at Aligarh but he favoured the establishment of an individual university which should be free from the Government control and had the power to affiliate all the Colleges from the world.

And thus these Muslim intellectual gave university movement a political colour with their divergent views about the proposed university and also gave a fresh struggle to the Aligarh Movement.

[C] Role of Aligarh’s Vice Chancellors in Aligarh Movement (1920-1947)

After the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the mission of his educational reform for the Muslim community was taken up by his followers and successors, and they were quite successful in carrying out the mission of Sir Syed ahead. After a long gap of about 45 years (1875-1920) they were able to get the cherished dream of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to have a Muslim University and the same was achieved in 1920. After the establishment of the Muslim University, the *Honorary Secretary* of the M.A.O. College was replaced by the successive Vice Chancellors in 1920 onwards. Now the Vice Chancellor of the University was above all and the executive head of the University. The role of the Vice Chancellors became important for the development of the University on the

World philosophy. In fact Azad went too far in criticizing Aligarh leadership probably due to his Pro-Congress feelings; Aligarh did produce good journalist and authors like Shibli Nomani, etc. It did not produce scientist because science courses could not be introduced before 1898 due to the lack of money. Azad however did approve Sir Syed’s ideas of English education. For Azad’s observation about Aligarh See, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative* reprint ed. (Delhi: Publication Division, 1965), p. 3.; G.R. Abduhu, *The Educational Ideas of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* (New Delhi : Sterling 1973), pp. 64-7.

⁵⁷ . *Al-Hilal*, August 1912.

⁵⁸ . *Al-Hilal*, 4th August 1912.

VICE - CHANCELLORS



NAWAB MOHD ALI
OF MAHMUDABAD
(1920-23)



NAWAB MUZAMMIL
ULLAH KHAN
(1927-29)



SAHIBZADA AFTAB
AHMAD KHAN
(1924-26)



SYED SIR ROSS
MASUD (1929-34)



DR. ZIAUDDIN
AHMAD (1935-38)
(1941-46)



JUSTICE SHAH
SULAIMAN
(1938-41)



ZAHID HUSAIN
(1947)



NAWAB ISMAIL
KHAN (1947-48)



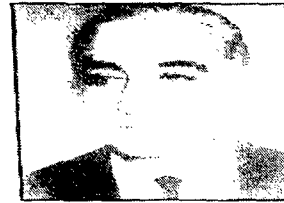
DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN
(1948-56)



COL. BASHEER
HUSAIN ZAIDI
(1956-62)



BADAR UDDIN
TYEBJI
(1962-65)



NAWAB ALI YAVAR
JUNG (1965-68)



PROF. ABDUL
ALEEM (1968-74)



PROF. ALI MOHT
KHUSRO (1974-79)



SYED HAMID
(1980-85)

**Vice Chancellors
(Aligarh Muslim University)**

path of progress and their role became remarkable for the advancement of the educational standard of the Muslim community through the vehicle of Aligarh movement which was based on the newly created Aligarh Muslim University in 1920 and thus the Aligarh Muslim University played a very significant role for the development of educational, social and the intellectual upliftment of the Muslim community through its active participation of the successive Vice-Chancellors from 1920 onwards till today.

(1) Maharaja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad of Mahmudabad

After the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University on December 17, 1920, the Governor-General appointed Maharaja Ali Mohammad of Mahmudabad as its first Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University. Raja of Mahmudabad (1879-1931), was born at Mahmudabad, in Sitapur District of U.P. He served as a fellow of Allahabad University (1906), Aligarh Trustee (1906-07) and a member of U.P. Legislative Council and *Governor's General's Council* in (1904-09) and (1907-20) respectively. He was the President of *British Indian Association* during (1917-21) and later on he became the Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University.⁵⁹

During the struggle for University Movement, Raja Mahmudabad, hired a train and proceeded to tour to the Punjab and Sind, with Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Aftab Ahmad Khan and Maulana Shibli Nomani for the collection of funds for the establishment of proposed university.⁶⁰ He also proceeded to Karanchi when he collected funds from the Seth Ghulam Hasan Chagla and from other Muslims of the city.⁶¹

In 1911, when *Muslim University Constitution Committee* was constituted to draft the constitution of the proposed university, Raja Mahmudabad was made as the President of the *Constitution Committee*, and he played a very vital role in the establishment of the Muslim University, even he

⁵⁹ . Shaikh Ali Hasan, '*Tarikh-i-Mahmoodabad*' Mahmoodabad House, Lucknow.

⁶⁰ . David Lelyveld, *Three Students*, op.cit., p. 163.

⁶¹ . Ibid., p. 163.

donated funds for the establishment of the Muslim University and earlier had pledged a lakh of rupees to the *Sir Syed Memorial Fund* which was constituted after the death of Sir Syed for carrying out the struggle for University movement after Sir Syed's death.

Raja of Mahmudabad played a significant role in the University Movement and after his appointment as the Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University he brought many changes to the development of University. Some of the changes are as follows -

1. Nawab Syed Mohammed Ali, Honorary Secretary of M.A.O. College, was elected as Honorary Treasurer in 1920.
2. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Principal, M.A.O. College was appointed as Pro Vice Chancellor.
3. Syed Sajjad Hyder, a member of the Court was appointed as Registrar.
4. The task of framing ordinance and Regulations of the AMU Act of 1920 was also started by him and during his tenure, Executive Regulations were framed, but Academic regulations took more time for these Academic Councils followed the Regulation and proceedings of the Allahabad University.
5. Under the able guidance of Vice Chancellor, Fifteen Departments were established.
6. The task of preparing syllabus of the University was completed and the examination of the University was also prepared. As a transitory measure, the courses of studies of the Allahabad University were adopted, but soon the first examination of the university was held in 1921 and the first Convocation of the University was held in 1922.⁶²

In 1923 he resigned from the University's post of Vice Chancellorship because he was also appointed as the Home Minister in the U.P. Government

⁶² . See for details K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, pp. 81-97, op.cit.

and it was therefore difficult for him to cope with the work of a growing university and thus he resigned from the post of Vice-Chancellor in 1923. In this way Raja of Mahmoodabad played a significant role in the University which was established newly and he served it from its infancy stage and nurtured with tender caring to the path of development.

(2) Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan who became the second Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University in 1924. He had the impressive personality as a student of the University who recorded his impression:

“Sahibzada, when I first saw him was something more than a handsome man. His appearance was preposing and had an air above him. He made a pleasant impression, a strong well setup figure, some five feet eight or nine inches in height”.⁶³

He belonged to the Qasba of Kangu from Karnal district, where he was born. His father was Ghulam Ahmad Khan, well-educated man he sent his son to M.A.O. College with his elder brother.⁶⁴

Sahibzada's association with the institution of Aligarh went back to the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He joined M.A.O. College in 1878 and his father put him under the supervision of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and he also went to Cambridge for higher degrees and after returning from Cambridge, settled in Aligarh and later was appointed as Professor of Law at the M.A.O. College. He served his alma mater from his College days to the last breath of his life.⁶⁵ During his College day's he founded 'Duty Society' along with other students in 1890 and the purpose of the Society was to help the needy boys and to remove misunderstanding about the College from the minds of the Muslim community. The other purposes of the Society were to setting up shops and tea stalls on all occasion of festivals, exhibition and sessions of the *Muhammadan*

⁶³ . The Aligarh Magazine, Vol. I, No. 5, January-August 1930, p. 27.

⁶⁴ . Habibullah Khan. *Hayat-i-Aftab*. Allahabad, 1947, p. 6.

⁶⁵ . K.A. Nizami, *The History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 98.

Educational Conference.⁶⁶ And thus, his Duty Society played a great role in popularizing the Aligarh Movement among the masses, even funds were raised for the College during the winter and summer vacation as students went in these days and collected money for the College.

Another important organization was found with the help of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was the *Old Boys Association* in 1899. He was its prime organizer. The Alumni of the M.A.O. College used to assemble on its annual dinner to recapture the memory of the College days which they had passed. The great services which rendered by the *Old Boys Association* was the donation of 1% of their income of the members of this organization were set aside for the College Fund. And even they were given representation in the Board of Trustees in the College. The Association undertook many philanthropic works for the college student as well as for the cause of Aligarh Movement even they paid the salary of science professor from their income.⁶⁷

After the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan made the earliest efforts to establish the *Sir Syed Memorial Fund* of an endowments of rupees 10 lakh (to be named as Sir Syed Memorial Fund).⁶⁸ The intension of Aftab Ahmad Khan was to pay off the debts of the College, and to raise the M.A.O. College to the status of the University. And when his name was proposed for the post of Vice Chancellor in 1923 at this critical juncture when Raja of Mehmoodabad had resigned and he was the member of Indian Council, and he wrote to a friend, Habibullah Khan, "Service of the Muslim University is one of the earliest dreams of my life"⁶⁹ and he gladly accepted the post of Vice Chancellor just because to serve his alma-mater with the missionary spirit as inculcated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to his followers, associates. When he joined the University 1924 he began his first day as Vice Chancellor, he faced many difficulties and problems and their work many

⁶⁶ . AIG, 17th August, 1891.

⁶⁷ . David Lelyveld, *Three Students*, op.cit., p. 175; Also see K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., pp. 55-56.

⁶⁸ . AIG, 9th April 1898.

⁶⁹ . *Hayat-i-Aftab*, op.cit., p. 302.

pending works in the University but with his dint of perseverance he faced all these things and try to remove all these problems from the University and for which he took steps to improve the condition of the University. Some of the steps he took are as follows:

1. He attended the meetings of all the Departments of Studies and took a thorough stock of their academic standard and their requirements. He made a careful statistical survey of the teacher-pupil ratio in each department and scrutinized the courses and syllabi.
2. He initiated a programme of reorganization, expansion and creation of Departments. Department of English, Department of Geography was reorganized under the guidance of English, Major E.W. Dann and Mr. Dickenson.
3. Urdu-e-Mualla Society was established under the guidance of Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi and Persian Society was also established.
1. He also established the Ahmadi School for the Blind (26 January, 1925).
2. University Convocation was held during his tenure and the Silver Jubilee of the University was also celebrated. He also organized the Sanskrit Department.

Thus he put his all energy to give a new shape to the University but his health could not permit him to carry out the more works though he had plan to establish many departments but due to his health problem he could not carry out his planned work and he left this world in 1926.⁷⁰ In this way we can see the missionary spirit of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan who not only served his alma mater from his college days but he also sacrificed his life for his alma-mater while serving it.

⁷⁰ . See for detail. K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., pp. 98-137.

(3) Nawab Sir Muzamiullah Khan

The Court elected Nawab Muzammiullah Khan as the Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University after Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan on January 1, 1927. Nawab Muzamullah Khan (1865-1938)⁷¹, belonged to a respectable family of Aligarh. He had long been associated with the Aligarh Movement. It was at the age of 21 years that he was elected as Trustee of the M.A.O. College in 1886. From that time onwards he remained deeply involved in Aligarh affairs. From 1899 to 1928, he was Joint-Secretary of the College. In 1968 he was elected as the Vice President of the Board of Trustees. He acted as Honorary- Secretary during the illness of Nawab Viqarul Mulk (1910-1913). He also acted as Vice Chancellor on three occasions⁷².

Nawab Muzammiullah Khan was a very respected figure in Public life. He took keen personal interest in the activities of the *Muhammadan Educational Conference* and liberally supported educational projects both of Muslims and non-Muslims. He was as member of U.P. Legislative Council and subsequently of the Viceroy's Council of State. – Twice he held the office of Home Member. He was at the helm of affairs at a time when clouds were gathering thick and fast on Aligarh horizon. The period preceding and following the appointment of *Rahimatoola Enquiry Committee* was marked by hectic activity of rival groups and factions and academic life of the University was in the doldrums.⁷³

During the Vice Chancellorship of Nawab Muzammiullah Khan the Rahimatoola Committee was appointed in 1927 to enquire into the administrative, academics, conditions of the University and to improve the

⁷¹ Nawab Muhammed Muzammilullah Khan (1865-1938). He belonged to the Bhikampur town in Aligarh district of Sunni Muslim family. His ancestors were Sherwani Pathan who came from Jalalabad in Afghanistan in 16th C. The ancestor of Nawab Muzammilullah high offices from the kings of Lodhi dynasty and one of them was Sikandra Lodi's Wazir, later on during British period as they were given some villages as a zamindari. Nawab became the Trustees of MAO College in 1886 and remained Joint Secretary of MAO College for many years. He was nominated as the member of UP Legislative council from 1916-19. Later he was also nominated as Viceroy's council of states and he remained twice Home member of UP Government. He was awarded the title of Khan Bahadur in 1904 and of Nawab in 1910 and later KCIE. He also contributed funds for MAO College and worked devotedly for Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement.

⁷² K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 138-139.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 138-139.

existing matters related in examination and financial irregularities and administrative matter of the university under the chairmanship of the Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola. Therefore, the remarkable development of his period of Vice Chancellorship was the appointment of Rahimatullah Committee and the other development of the university was the establishment of the Tibbiya College which started functioning in 1927.⁷⁴

(4) Sir Syed Ross Masood

When Ross Masood⁷⁵ was born, on this occasion Sir Syed became so happy that he donated Rs. 100 to the M.A.O. College Fund. Syed Mahmud, the father of Ross Masood, out of his affection with one of his friends Dr. Ross, named the newly born baby as Syed Mohammad Ross Masood. When *Mohammadan Educational Conference* met at Aligarh on its annual session in 1893 in the Strachy Hall at Aligarh, his *Bismillah* ceremony took place in the lap of Raja Jaikishan Das, a very close friend of Sir Syed. On this auspicious occasion Sir Syed told the august gathering that ‘Ross’ a Christian name is a part of Masood’s name because he believed Hindu, Muslim, Christian as member of one family and he did not distinguish among them. As soon as Ross Masood repeated the Arabic line, *BismillahahRahmanir Rahim*, Raja Jai Kishan Das gifted him Rs. 500/-. seeing this Sir Syed came forward and asked Masood as to

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 137 to 161.

⁷⁵ Sir Ross Masood was born on 15th Feb. 1889. He was the grandson of Sir Syed Ahmad and son of Syed Mahmood. He received his early education at home. He was brought up by Theodore Morison and he completed his High School from MAO College, later on he went to England to receive his degree at Bar at Law from Oxford. On his return from England he was elected as a Trustee of MAO College. Later on he entered into the Indian Educational Service and he became the headmaster of the Patna High School and Professor at Ravenshaw College Cuttack and a fellow of Calcutta, Madrasa at Osmania University. From 1916 to 1928 he was Director of Public Instruction in Hyderabad state. He was awarded the title of *Nawab Jang Bahadur* by the Nizam and knighthood in 1933. He was married in 1914 with Johra Begam, the daughter of Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan. He had two sons, elder one was Anwer Masood (born 1915), younger one was Akber Masood (born 1917). Before his election to vice chancellor to the AMU, he was serving as Director of Public Instruction in the State of Hyderabad. Later on he went to Japan to study the educational system of the country. See, Arshad Gangohi, Sir Ross Masood, *Fikro Nazar*, vol.II, AMU, Aligarh, P.295

what he would do of the money. The small boy replied that he did not know and gave the money to his grandfather as a donation for M.A.O. College.⁷⁶

When the University Court elected him as Vice Chancellor in its meeting of February 9, 1929 and he was also offered the post of Political Secretary to the state of Hyderabad but Ross Masood felt that he must continue the work where his grandfather (Sir Syed Ahmad) had commenced with the desire of raising the intellectual standards of Muslims in India for which he founded the M.A.O. College and thus Ross Masood joined the University. He served the Aligarh Muslim University as Vice Chancellor from 1929-1934.

Ross Masood's (1889-1937) position was unique in certain respects. He had an impressive personality. Sir R.R. Glancy wrote about him

".... His upbringing at centres, so diverse in outlook and method as Aligarh, Oxford and Paris was an excellent preparation. His interest was in consequence worldwide and perhaps for this reason he was able to achieve far more for education in the short time allotted to him, than the type of scholar whose life is devoted to one subject alone".⁷⁷

When Ross Masood joined his alma mater as Vice Chancellor, he worked incessantly for its development which was not on its track as expected. The University was in a state of chaos. It lacked finance and suffered with internal dissensions. The *Rahamatola Committee Report* published a few months back had lowered the prestige of the University and it needed a man to raise the bygone status of the University. Luckily the University, in Ross Masood had found a sagacious administration and educationist.⁷⁸

Ross Masood stood for education in Science and Technology. Though a man of Social Sciences he was aware of what the teaching of science can give to a community with his untiring energy, he persuaded the Central Government and the Government of Nizam to give the University funds, which may enable

⁷⁶ . Shan Muhammad, 'Nawab Masood Jung Dr. Sir Mohd. Ross Masood: Life and his work', *Ross Masood Hall Magazine*, 2004, p. 1 (Hereafter Hall Magazine). See for details, The Proceedings of AIMEC, 1893, Aligarh.

⁷⁷ . See K.A. Nizami, op.cit., p. 169.

⁷⁸ . Hall Magazine, op.cit., p. 5.

it to develop the teaching in science. His efforts proved fruitful the Government of India sanctioned Rs. 15 lakhs and the Nizam gave Rs. 10 lakhs. Substantial donations were also received from Junagarh, Bhopal and Bahawalpur States with this money. Ross Masood designed the science departments with impressive and spacious buildings and extensive laboratories. Research facilities were provided and competent teachers were appointed. As a result of all this the University conferred the first and second Ph.D. degree in chemistry to Dr. Omar Farooq and Dr. Rafat Husain respectively. Similarly Ph.D. degrees were also awarded in Physics and these researches were found of the same standard as that of the British Universities.⁷⁹

The *Teachers Training College* was housed in a small corner of the *Mohammadan Educational Office* building. It needed a big building and thus Ross Masood invited donations and a new building for the Training College was constructed.

The Old Boys of Aligarh started constructing a hostel to commemorate the services of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan. The Vice-Chancellor took keen interest in it and it was because of his supervision that the building of the hostel was ready for poor and meritorious students. This was named as Aftab Hall.⁸⁰

There was no department, which escaped his attention. New departments in Social Sciences were also created and the services of best teacher were taken. In 1937 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited the University. Ross Masood received him at the Railway Station with a thunderous applause from the students. Jawaharlal made an impressive speech and inspired the students with the lofty ideals of nationalism.⁸¹

Ross Masood was also invited by Nadir Shah, the Amir of Afghanistan to suggest ways and means for the education of the people of Afghanistan. He went there with Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Maulana Sulaiman Nadir. A plan

⁷⁹ See for details, Ifikhar Alam Khan, *'Muslim University ki Kahani Imarton ki Juhani'*, (1920-1947)

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.80.

⁸¹ See for details *Al-Hall Magazine*, op.cit.p.2-4

for education was envisaged which was very much appreciated while coming back to India. Ross Masood persuaded the Amir of Afghanistan to grant a scholarship to the students. The Amir was gracious to grant Rs. 300/- per month for it. For all this he was well known in the Government circles. His services were recognized and the Government of Britain conferred on him 'Knighthood' and he came to be known as Sir Ross Masood. Earlier he had also been honoured by the University with the degree of D.I.itt.⁸²

In October 1934, Sir Ross Masood resigned from the Vice Chancellorship because of his differences with the University Court on the issue of the continuation of the services of Khan Bahadur Fakruddin who was holding the post of Registrar on deputation basis and to whom Ross Masood considered an honest and able man for the post assigned to him. But the Court did not oblige his request and thus he resigned. The another issue was the exclusion of the name of Sir Ross Masood from the newly appointed Committee of Technical Education and thus he he did not wish to continue as the vice chancellor of the University .Therefor the AMU had lost one of its best Vice chancellors.⁸³

Ross Masood went to London for his treatment but soon he was offered the post of the Minister of Education by Nawab Sir Hameedullah Khan of Bhopal he returned to India and joined the fresh assignment. In Bhopal also he marveled in Education. But he did not live long to serve the State. In the beginning of 1937 his health further deteriorated and he passed away in July 1937. The dead body was brought to Aligarh where he was laid to rest on the left side of his grandfather.⁸⁴

The death of Sir Ross Masood was deeply mourned not only in Aligarh but also all over India and Britain. Members of every community paid their profound tributes to him. To Sardar Pannikar his friendship was unutterable by

⁸² Ibid. p.2-4

⁸³ See, letter of Ross Masood to his friend Hasan Nizami., dated, 9th May, 1934, *Sir Syed Archive, Aligarh*.

⁸⁴ Hall Magazine, op.cit. P.5-6.

any consideration of caste or creed or race he was truly cosmopolitan in his mind. India is poorer by the death of so distinguished, so talented and so patriotic, a man. His dynamic personality was a national asset, the full value of which never came to be recognized. Prof. F. Krunkow from Cambridge wrote that Muslim India has lost a great son not so easily to replace. A. Carter Morison from London in his condolence said "what a loss Sir Ross Masood will be to India and more especially to his own community. It is such men as he that India needs today". Thus Ross Masood was a great educationist who served his institution by heart.⁸⁵

(5) Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman

Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman was born on 3rd February 1886 in the village of Walidpurbhera in Azamgarh District of U.P. State. He passed his school and college exams with outstanding marks. In 1906 he secured first position in B.A. examination. On his achievement, Government of U.P. sanctioned him a scholarship for his higher studies in England and thus he enrolled himself in the Cambridge University. He received Doctor of Law degree from Dublin University and returned back to India in 1911. He also cracked the I. C. S. examination. Sir Shah Sulaiman was appointed judge of the Allahabad High Court at the age of 34 and Chief Justice at the age of 43. He was hardly 48 when he was appointed a judge of the Federal Court of India. It was an unrivalled record in the judicial annals of our country. His interests were diverse and varied. Urdu literature, Education, Law and Modern science.⁸⁶

After the first tenure of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad (from 20.4.1936 to 29.4.1938) as Vice Chancellor, the University Court elected in its meeting held in 1938, Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman, the next Vice Chancellor. Moinul Haq writes that after due consideration the Court members gave their consensus on the name of Sir Shah Sulaiman to be the next Vice Chancellor of the University.⁸⁷ He

⁸⁵ For details see the *University Magazine of 1934*, AMU, Aligarh.

⁸⁶ Dr. Akhlaq Ahmed, Sir Shah Sulaiman, *Tehzibul Akhlaq*, March, 1938.

⁸⁷ Dr. Moinul Haq, Moin Aap Biti, *Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, p.220.

worked till his death on March 13, 1941. Three times during his career Sir Shah Sulaiman (1886-1941) had been the head of the Aligarh Muslim University, and had contributed immensely to its academic life with his corporate spirit. Deep and genuine sincerity combined with commitment to the ideals of Sir Syed added to the impact of his personality. He had brilliant academic record having obtained Mathematics Tripos from Christ College Cambridge in 1909 and Law Tripos in 1910. His contribution to science – “*Theory of an Expanding Universe*” was widely appreciated, as a contribution to scientific thought.⁸⁸

During the tenure of his Vice Chancellorship, many new changes were made in administrative, academic life of the university. The duration of the long vacation of the university was reduced from three months to 75 days and of the University's Schools were reduced from 75 days to 60 days. The number of holidays were curtailed by 10 days.

A committee was also appointed to determine the teaching hours of the university. A number of new appointments were also made during his period. Some important changes were made in the syllabus and some new courses were introduced during his tenure. e.g. Urdu was introduced as an optional subject in B.A. Pass Examination. In the Education department arrangement was made for the admission of women to B.A. class under strict *Pardah* arrangements. The degree classes of the Girls College were taken over by the University in 1938 and separate staff was appointed for teaching them. At the Annual Convocation in 1939 a batch of girl General candidates was for the first time in the history of the institution conducted to the dais by their Lady Provost to receive their degrees. In 1940 Department of Technology with arrangements for training in Electrical and Mechanical Engineer was opened. Thus we could see much great change in the University's academic sphere during the period of Sir Shah Sulaiman.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ K.A. Nizami, op.cit., p. 205.

⁸⁹ See for details, Iftikhar Alam Khan, op.cit., p.171-180. K.A. Nizami, op.cit., pp. 205-212.

(6) Nawab Ismail Khan

The death of Sir Shah Sulaiman on March 13, 1941, created a sudden void in the university life. Till such time as the University Court met and elected a new Vice Chancellor, Khan Bahadur Hayat Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani. In April 1941 Court elected Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad as Vice Chancellor for the second time. During the second tenure of his office (April 24, 1941 to April 24, 1947), Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad's activities were primarily determined by support to British War preparations and the desire to collect adequate funds for a Medical College at Aligarh. The political atmosphere in the country was a factor to be reckoned with every stage. It was a difficult situation and though Dr. Ziauddin used all his tact and dynamism to tide over it, ultimately the turn of events went against him and he was forced to resign in 1947.⁹⁰ As I have already mentioned in the preceding chapter (No. 4) regarding the political development of the country and its impact on Aligarh Muslim University during Dr. Ziauddin's period of Vice Chancellorship and the pro Muslim League activities in the University, and its hold on the University campus and subsequent which led subsequently the resignation of the Sir Ziauddin on 24 of July 1947.

After his resignation, Mr. Zahid Husain was appointed as the Vice Chancellor but soon he was made Pakistan's High Commissioner to India and he resigned from Vice Chancellorship. Selection of a brilliant candidate was difficult and no man was ready 'to go on'. Professor Mohd. Habib and Prof. Babar Mirza requested Nawab Ismail Khan⁹¹ to take charge as Vice Chancellor. But he replied that it was not in the interest of the University as he had been the chairman of the *Muslim League Action Committee*. But he was pressurized because he was the only person who had experience of Aligarh left after the partition of the country and he had openly opposed against the

⁹⁰ K.A. Nizami, op.cit., p. 212.

⁹¹ Grandson of Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifta of Jehangirabad, Bulandshahr; graduated from John's College, Cambridge, Inner Temple (Bar-at-Law); took major part in League's politics; treasurer AMU in the thirties; Vice-Chancellor 1947-48; differed with Jinnah on the question of partition of India.

vivisection of the country in spite of his membership of the League. Therefore Nawab Ismail Khan took over the charge of office as the acting Vice Chancellor. This was a time when University had enormous difficulties because of the partition. The number of students fell drastically and most of the senior Professors who supported Pakistan had migrated to the new country.⁹²

Finally University became bankrupt. Between November 1947 and December 1948 the University sold its securities worth Rs. 7,50,000 and was further forced to borrow large sum of money on the interest to meet its expenditure. The total debt till 1950 was over seven lakh.⁹³ This was because of the fall of enrolment, stoppage of grants from Indian side and thus the condition of University was not good.

During the period of Nawab Ismail Khan of Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University, the visit of Sarojini Naidu (Governor of U.P.), put a fresh ray of hope for among the student of Aligarh Muslim University in the atmosphere of gloom and frustration. Nawab Ismail Khan in his welcome speech assured to make the full contribution of the students of Aligarh Muslim University to the task of developing their country with their greater participation as true citizens of their country.⁹⁴ But the Government of India was not satisfied with Aligarh and search for a new Vice Chancellor was made and Dr. Zakir Hussain was pressurized to join Aligarh as next Vice Chancellor and he took charge of the Aligarh Muslim University as a Vice Chancellor on November. 30, 1948. Dr. Zakir Hussain was Pandit Nehru's selection since he knew that no one could save the University and the Muslim community from the furry of Indian communalism except Dr. Zakir Husain and thus he was appointed on the office of Vice Chancellorship and truly he saved the ship in the trouble water and served his alma mater with the spirit of its founder.

⁹² . Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics*, p. 151.

⁹³ . Annual Report of the Vice Chancellor for 1950 read in the *Convocation* in Feb. 1951.

⁹⁴ . Annual Report of the Vice-Chancellor 1947 read in the *Convocation* Jan. 1948, p. 15.

CHAPTER - V

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AND NATIONAL POLITICS

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In the first half of the 20th century, Aligarh Movement had reached on its climax. It was a period of political development in the context of the National Movement. Many ups and downs could be seen in the political horizon of the country in the first half of the 20th century. The partition of Bengal (1905) and subsequently the creation of Eastern Bengal and Assam generated widespread reaction from the Indian people and a countrywide agitation started in the form of Swadeshi Movement. On the other hand, the rise of Swadeshi Movement and its demand for the annulment of the partition of Bengal brought some sort of anxiety among the Muslim community of newly created Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Even Muslim intelligentsia also had the same anxiety regarding the increasing demand for annulment of partition of Bengal as they thought that it would hamper the better prospects of the Muslims of newly Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. To safeguard their interests they led the foundation of Muslim League as a parallel political body like Indian National Congress.

On the other hand Aligarh Movement led by its leaders, turned into a new direction under the able guidance of Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mohammad Ali, Sir Ziauddin and many others to achieve its goal to achieve a full-fledged University which would have the full autonomy under the Muslims of India. The agitation for the demand of the Muslim University intermingled with the national politics of India in 20th century. And the goal of achieving the Muslim University was fulfilled during the period of Sir Ziauddin who was the Principal of M.A.O. College. The period of Sir Ziauddin as Principal of M.A.O. College witnessed the rise of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement in the College Campus and thus national politics had badly affected the atmosphere of the College. The period of Sir Ziauddin as the Vice-Chancellor of AMU (1935-1938) and (1941-1947)

also witnessed the development of national politics in the University campus and it was passing through the difficult phase not only the national politics become the cup of the tea of the students of the University but also separatist groups became active in the University Campus and later they played their decisive role in the partition of India. In this way we could also see the development of national politics and the separatist trends which crept into the University politics in the first half of the 20th century which marked the development of pro-Muslim League activities in the first half of the 20th century in the University campus and their subsequent role in the creation of Pakistan led the University authorities into trouble.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the contemporary politics of India and its impact on the Aligarh Movement vice-versa from 1913 to 1947 i.e. after the resignation of Nawab Viqarul Mulk from the post of Honorary Secretaryship of the M.A.O. College till the partition of India. How the Aligarh leaders and the Muslim community able to get a Muslim university which was a cherished dream of Sir Syed was discussed here. An attempt is also made to analyze the development of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement in the M.A.O. College Campus and what role played by the Aligarh leaders in creating a separate National University has been focused in detail. In this chapter an attempt is also made to analyze the nationalist and separatist trend which developed in the University and to what extent they played their role in the politics of the country in the first half of the 20th century has also been analyzed in detail.

(A) Struggle for Muslim University

For more than two decades (1898-1920), the struggle for a Muslim University was carried on by Muslim leaders with varying degree of zeal and earnestness. British educational policy and the general political climate of the country acted and reacted on this struggle, which passed through various phases of disillusionment and hope. The leaders of the Movement had, from the very

beginning committed themselves to the following features of the proposed Muslim University: -

- (a) An All India status,
- (b) Power of affiliating Colleges outside Aligarh, and
- (c) Complete administrative and academic autonomy.¹

To get these above demands of the future Muslim University, successors of Sir Syed and the Muslim community started their struggle for University movement after the death of its founder in 1898. The struggle for university movement passed through the four phases, which are as follows :

- (i) From 1898 to 1904, when the Movement was initiated with great enthusiasm but the Indian University Act of 1904 dampened the spirits of the people;
- (ii) From 1904 to 1910, when the Movement was just carried on without any real force or momentum;
- (iii) From 1910 to 1914 when the coming of Agha Khan, who initiated a fresh drive for collection of funds for University Movement and Lord Crew's veto in 1912 took the stream out of the Movement.
- (iv) From 1915 to 1920; when after the war, various political Movements thrilled the country and reached Aligarh also, and the Government deemed it politic to fulfill some of the Muslims aspiration by raising the M.A.O. College to the status of a University.²

The progress of the University Movement was hampered by the involvement of its leaders viz. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk in wider political concerns of their community after the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. From the beginning of the 20th century, the Nagari Resolution of 1900 brought up by then the Lieutenant-Governor of N.W. Provinces, Sir Antony

¹ K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 28.

² Ibid., p. 29.

MacDonnell which caused the Muslim of India in great trouble. The participation of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk in Urdu-Hindi controversy and on the other hand the outbreak of students strike at M.A.O. College in 1907, greatly affected the prospects of the expansion of the College. The progress of the University Movement was also affected by Lord Curzon's policy of Higher education of 1904 which incorporated the recommendations of the *Indian University Commission* of 1902 which overruled the creation of any new University.³ Besides it, the scheme of a 'National University' as proposed by Annie Besant⁴ and her correspondence with some of the prominent leaders in that connection during 1906-07⁵ also might have diverted the attention of the Aligarh leaders. At the same time, Pan-Islamic ideas also gained ground in Aligarh which also disturbed the Muslim British relationship, because of the growing tendencies of the Pan-Islamic ideas in the students community of the M.A.O. College which hindered the philanthropic attitude of British Governments towards the M.A.O. College and it also diverted the attention of the British Government to raise the College into a University. The impact of Pan-Islamic ideas could be seen among the students community of M.A.O. College in the beginning of 20th century as these ideas were widely discussed among the students community e.g. on 5th February 1906 the Students Union discussed the proposition: "Pan Islamism is the life blood of Islam". It was discussed by an overwhelming majority of the students community. On 19th February 1910, the Students Union of M.A.O. College also discussed the proposition: 'Self-help ought to be the first article of our political creed'.⁶ The other proposition was also discussed like: "The social and Religious regeneration of Islam is the Mission of Young Turks – and with

³. See *Indian Educational Policy*, Calcutta: Government Printing, 1904 (Hereafter *Indian Educational Policy*).

⁴. Annie Besant (1847-1933). She founded the Central Hindu College at Banaras to promote religious mysticism, a staunch advocate of India's independence and President of the Indian national Congress in 1917.

⁵. Annie Besant had written to Madan Mohan Malviya and Nawab Viqarul Mulk about the necessity of working out a common national university instead of two separate Hindu Muslim University. See for details, Annie Besant, "On National University", 21st Jan. 1906, in Annie Besant, *Bulletin of New India* (Madras: Theosophical Society, n.d.), pp. 443-46.

⁶. *Union Debate Register* (Union Office) AMU, Aligarh.

these development English staff in M.A.O. College was arrogantly disrespectful of Muslim sentiments in respect of Turkey and all that it stood. For Cornah, who succeeded Morison as Principal of M.A.O. College was reported to have openly remarked in his class : “If I had the power I would make Abdul Hamid, the Sultan of Turkey, my fan-puller”. Such kind of attitude developed in the European staff at M.A.O. College due to these Pan-Islamic attitude of the College students.

In 1911, when Italy attacked Tripoli, there was deep resentment in Aligarh. The students of the M.A.O. College collected funds for Tripoli. This changed atmosphere of Aligarh which was bound to affect the University Movement and the British Government viewed all these with suspense and made their alarmed by the change of gear in Aligarh politics, because M.A.O. College was a pro-British institution, and the British Government did not like any activities which went against the wishes of British Government. Therefore the European Principal of M.A.O. College kept the political authority informed of these developments in the pro-British institution at Aligarh’s M.A.O. College which became more and more suspicious in the eyes of the Government.⁷ Therefore the Pan Islamic ideology of the M.A.O. College directly had their impact on the Muslim British relationship and to some extent it also hampered the cordial relationship between the Muslims and British Government.

The next phase of University Movement was started with the shifting of the headquarter of Muslim League to Lucknow in 1910 and the success of the leaders of the League in getting separate electorates to the Muslim in the Indian Council Act of 1909.⁸ It also gave a chance to the Aligarh leaders to free themselves getting involved in political issues and they once again revived the idea of getting a Muslim University for which they launched their campaign. Resolutions for the early establishment of the University were passed in session

⁷ . K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 50.

⁸ . For details of Constitutional reforms and the provisions of the Act, see Home Political ‘A’, Feb. 1909 (NAI).

of the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* in 1909 and also it was passed in 1910 in the session of the *All India Muslim League*.⁹ And thereafter practical steps were being taken up to translate the idea 'into action'. During the third phase of the University Movement from 1910-1914, with the appearance of Agra Khan, University Movement got momentum. Agha Khan¹⁰ himself toured the country for the collection of funds and he inspired the young workers with zeal and enthusiasm for the University Movement. When Agha Khan entered the field of fund raising campaign for the establishment of University, Khushi Mohammad Nazir, an old Boy of the College wrote¹¹ :

آج نئی سہج سے فلک چلنے ستارے پھرتے ہیں
 کچھ تو بتا احوال نجومیؑ ن بھی ہمارے پھرتے ہیں
 قافلہ سالار اپنا بنا ہے آج وہ ترک شیرازی
 وہ جس رخ کو پھرتا ہے اس رخ کو سارے پھرتے ہیں
 آج وہ سلطان کشوؑ ل کی رویشیؑ لوٹے ہوئے
 ہاتھ میں لے کر جام گداؑ وراؑ ورائے پھرتے ہیں

Today Moon and stars are blazing in full bloom in the sky.
 Tell me astrologer! could our destiny be changed.
 A Turk of Shiraz (Agha Khan) has become today our leader.
 To which direction he moves, everyone turns to that direction.
 Today His Highness Sultan (Agha Khan) has become the saint within
 his own domain of heart:
 He goes to door to door raising the bowl of beggar to collect college
 Funds.

Thus under the leadership of Agha Khan a country wide campaign was launched for raising funds for the proposed University. And after the fund collection, on 16th February 1911, *Muslim University Constitution Committee*

⁹ See Report of All Indian Muslim Educational Conference, XIII, Session 1909, p. 93.

¹⁰ Agha Khan III (1877-1957) was a wealthy leader of the Ismaili Sect of Muslims, participated in the Muhammadan Educational Conference and led the campaign to collect funds for the University movement. He also led the Simla Deputation in 1906 to the Viceroy Lord Minto. He propagated for the need of an affiliating University at Aligarh and worked for it. He became Pro-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University in 1920.

¹¹ Kushi Mohammed Nazir, *Nagma-i-Firdaus*, Part II, p. 69.

was constituted to draft the constitution of proposed University with honourable Sir Muhammad Ali Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad (1871-1913)¹² as the President and Shamsul Ulema Dr. Syed Ali Bilgrami¹³ as the Secretary, while the Committee was concerned with the drafting of the Constitution, Agha Khan got in touch with the Butler the Lieutenant-Governor N.W. Provinces mainly to know the official mind. There was great debate on certain issues of the Constitution of University, regarding the affiliation of Colleges, administrative and academic autonomy of the University and regarding the proposed name of the University as well as the power of the Court. All these debates and negotiations with the British Government and also with the Muslim community led the University Movement into stalemate. One of the issues on which Muslim community seemed to be deeply involved, was the right of the University to affiliate institutions outside Aligarh.

On the question of right to affiliation of the colleges to the proposed University in July 1912, Government communiqué issued from Shimla, which said in categorical terms that it was decided by the *Secretary of State*, Lord Crew to restrict the jurisdiction of the Aligarh and Banaras University to their respective towns. It led to the considerable resentment in Muslim community and the campaign for University Movement get a setback.

In the passage of the time Aligarh had become the 'seat of trouble' because of the involvement of the First Generation of Aligarh Students who were stepping into the shoes of old leaders. When the *Muslim University*

¹² Raja of Mehmodabad (1879-1931). Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad was born at Mahmudabad, in Sitapur District (U.P.) He served as a fellow of Allahabad University (1906), Aligarh Trustee (1906-07) and a member of U.P. Legislative Council and Governor General's Council during 1904-09 and 1907-20 respectively. He was the President of British India Association during 1920-21 and Vice Chancellor of AMU during 1920-23.

¹³ Syed Ali Bilgrami was the half-brother of Syed Husain Bilgrami. He studied medicine at London for ten years and was appointed as Doctor in the Indian Army. On the death of Aziz Mirza the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League, he was elected to this office. He was a staunch supporter of Muslim Education and was associated with Aligarh University Movement. His Presidential address to the Muhammedan Educational Conference in 1912 at Lucknow is replete with his love and devotion to the cause of the Aligarh University Movement.

Foundation Committee met in Lucknow on 26 December 1912, the campaign for a University Movement entered into a new phase. And this phase had two groups of the Old Boys – one led by Aftab Ahmad Khan and other led by Ali Brothers – held different points of view regarding the proposed University. In 1914 a *Muslim University Association* was elected and the Association met in May 1915. Agha Khan was insisting on the adaptation of the University on the Government terms and Ali Brothers were not agreeable to it. Soon afterwards they were arrested under the Defence of India Act and were confined to Chandawara jail.¹⁴

The next phase which began of 1915 to 1920. was the final phase of the University Movement and it was an anticlimax. The University proposal had been pushed off the centre of the stage by more political concerns. Planning for the University was left in the hands of few educators, notably Abdur Rahman Bijnauri, and Wali Mohammad. They prepared a series of detailed University Constitution after protracted negotiations with the Government, on the lines of the *Banaras Hindu University*, as the Bill for Banaras Hindu University had already passed in 1915. Due to the political development of the country in the first quarter of the 20th century which witnessed the passing of the MontagueChelmsford Reform and the Rowlett Act, all these created an atmosphere in which the Aligarh Muslim University campaign began to lose its significance to the political pressure of the *Non-cooperation* and *Khilafat Movement* and thus the British Government became sympathetic towards the University Movement and it passed on 1st December 1920. the Muslim University Act which was brought into force and Raja of Mahmudabad was appointed as its first Vice Chancellor. And thus a long cherished goal of Sir Syed and the Muslim community was fulfilled.

¹⁴ K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 65.

(B) AMU Act of 1920 and its Significance

The campaign to establish a Muslim University at Aligarh represented a good example of the confluence of education and politics in the first half of the 20th century in India. The political motives involved were similar to those that lay behind the founding of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 and the English education was necessary to get the political share in the Government and by the beginning of the 20th century the stakes were higher and the interests involved had expanded in number and complexity. The Muslim University Movement represented nothing less than an effort to create an all India Muslim constituency and to carve out for it a decisive piece of political power. It was political both in attempt to consolidate support to influence Government politics, and also a direct challenge to British control of the educational access to power.¹⁵

Sir Syed's desire to establish a University at Aligarh was fulfilled in 1920 when the University Bill was passed by the Legislatures on September 9, 1920 and it was published in the Government Gazette on December 1, 1920, wherein, it was said:

“The *Governor General in Council* is pleased to appoint the Honourable Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad as the first Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University”.¹⁶

The Aligarh Muslim University came into existence with 265 students, 20 faculty members and fifteen departments¹⁷ with the facilities for imparting education upto Ph.D. level. While Governor-General of India appointed the Begum of Bhopal, Agha Khan and Dr. Ziauddin as the first Chancellor, Pro Chancellor and Vice Chancellor respectively¹⁸. The power was given to the

⁵ . David Lelyvild and Gail Minault, The Campaign for a Muslim University 1898-1920, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, NO. 2 (1974), p. 145 (Hereafter David. Campaign for University).

¹⁶ . S.K. Bhatnagar, *MAO College*, op.cit., p. 351.

¹⁷ . For various departments, see Appendix, the Aligarh Muslim University Act, 1920 (XL of 1920) henceforth abbreviated as AMU Act. Also see about the Act of AMU, Government of India notification, 1st December 1920 Education 'B', Proceedings April 1921, National Archives of India (NAI).

¹⁸ . S.Y. Shah, op.cit., p. 259.

Court to elect their successor. The Court was constituted as the Supreme governing body of the University and its membership was restricted only to the Muslims.¹⁹ The apparent purpose of this, appears to satisfy the Muslims and enable them to manage the University the way they wanted. Though the Act conceded the power of electing the Vice Chancellor from amongst its members, the appointment was subjected to the approval of the Governor-General in Council.²⁰ Besides, the Act made it a binding on the part of the Court to accept his advice.²¹

The Act also provided for Visiting Board, to be constituted of the Lieutenant Governor of U.P., his Executive Council and the ministers (after the implementation of Montague-Chelmsford Reform was empowered to annul any proceedings not in conformity with the Act, statutes and ordinances.²²

Thus the Act of AMU gave considerable power to both the Central and Provincial Government. It was against the wishes of the Aligarh leadership and Muslim community. Because they wanted a full-fledged University managed and fully controlled by the Muslims of India. Besides this Aligarh leadership also failed in getting an affiliating University and had to contend with a teaching and residential University.²³ With the powers to establish and maintain intermediate Colleges and Schools²⁴ within a radius of 10 kilometers from the University mosque. However the Aligarh leadership did succeed, in getting the word, "Muslim" include in its nomenclature and the permission to "promote oriental and Islamic studies and provide facilities for the introduction in Muslim theology and religion to Muslim students."²⁵ In keeping with the part

¹⁹ Ibid.
²⁰ Section 19 of the AMU Act.
²¹ Section 13 of the AMU Act.
²² Section 14 of the AMU Act.
²³ Preamble of the AMU Act.
²⁴ Section 12 of the AMU Act.
²⁵ Section 15 of the AMU Act.

tradition of the institution, the University was open to all as it was enacted that it would be open to all, without any consideration of caste or creed.²⁶

The establishment of the Aligarh Muslim University in 1920 was one of the most striking developments in the history of higher education in modern India, because its establishment took an unusually long period of forty-five years (1875-1920). And it took such a long period to fulfill the desires of the founder of the institution and their followers and successors and overall it was aspiration of the whole Muslim community of India during their struggle to get such a University.

The characteristics of the Aligarh Muslim University is unique in nature as it involved such a long period to get its terms of University. A comparative study of the Act of AMU of 1920 and of the Banaras Hindu University Act of 1915 would provide the unique feature of the Aligarh Muslim University. The main points of difference between the two universities are the followings :

- (i) According to Section 6(1) of the BHU Act the Lieutenant Governor of U.P. was the visitor of the University. In AMU the Governor General was the Lord Rector of the University. The power which were assigned to the Governor General with reference to Aligarh were given to the Governor of U.P. in the case of BHU.
- (ii) In Banaras University the Governor could announce any proceedings not in conformity with the Act [13(25)]; in Aligarh Governor General could only had the power to announce the proceedings not in conformity with Act.
- (iii) According to the Section 19(1) the Governor-General in Council could remove any member of the teaching staff at BHU but with reference to Aligarh the power was given to the University Court.
- (iv) Under the B.H.U. Act previous approval of the Visitor was required for new statutes or amendments; under the Muslim University Act the

²⁶ . Section 8 of the AMU Act.

Statutes could be amended subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council.

- (v) Under the Section 8(1) of the Statutes of the B.H.U. Act, the appointment of the Vice Chancellor subjected to the appointment of the Visitor: whereas the Muslim University Act; the Vice Chancellor, was subjected to the approval of the Governor General in Court.²⁷

So these were the basic points of difference between the two universities which were created almost same period during the first half of 20th century but the AMU Act carried the unique features in its character which made it a unique University not only in India but also in whole world.

On December 13, 1920 the Vice Chancellor designated Raja Mohammad Ali of Moradabad, reached Aligarh staff, students, founder members of the University (who now became member of the Court), gave a warm welcome to him at the Railway station. The following two days were spent in garden parties, dinners at Aligarh.

It was at 8.30 a.m. on Friday December 17, 1920 that the inaugural ceremony of the University took place in the Strachey Hall and thus the Aligarh Muslim University came into being. In this way a long cherished dream came to be true.

(C) Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh

Sir Syed's efforts to keep the Muslims out of the national politics was well maintained by his successors also at M.A.O. College which was the bastion of the Muslim loyalty from its inception to the British Government and the lesson of Muslim loyalty was taught to the students of M.A.O. College not by Sir Syed, his successor but also by the English Principals of the College. And the only political activities to which they were allow to take part in it was to support the British rule in India. The intention behind this policy was to defend

²⁷ K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 78. For the comparative study of the special features of B.H.U. and A.M.U.'s Constitutions. See, the AMU Act of 1920, op.cit. And for the BHU Act, 1915. See .Educational Records V, pp. 78-92.

the notion that only Anglo-Muslim cooperation could ensure a bright future for the Muslims of India and their loyalty towards the British Government was an essential pre condition for the survival of this institution.²⁸ The political and ideological basis of the College, as enunciated by Sir Syed Ahmad remained dominated till the first quarter of 20th century mainly due to the dominant presence of the pro-British elements both in the Management and in the teaching staff of the College.

But a change could be seen and which was undercurrent from the beginning of the twentieth century at Aligarh and a core group of nationalist Muslim leaders were present in the M.A.O. College, like Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Hasarat Mohani etc. these individuals had risen to the status of national leaders while representing the nationalist group within the College in their capacity as alumni and Trustee of the College.

The loyalist group represented by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Sir Ziauddin, Aftab Ahmad Khan, Shaikh Abdullah etc. who had control over the institution and followed Sir Syed ideology of Muslim loyalty to the British Government. The formal emergence of a nationalist group within the College was first sensed by the loyalists when a demand was raised during the struggle for University to transform the College into a national University and to keep the proposed University independent of the Government control.²⁹ Since the balance of the power was heavily tipped in favour of the loyalists. The voice of the nationalists carried little impact within the establishment, although its influence on the students, in terms of arousing nationalists sentiments was much greater. The students of the M.A.O. College

²⁸ . Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience*, M.A. Ansari, *The Congress and the Raj* (New Delhi), Manohar Publication, 1987, p. 97.

²⁹ . Jamia Millia Islamia, *Mukhtasar Tarikh Aur Dastoorul Amal: An official History of Jamia Millia Islamia* published by the Registrar Office on the eve of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of Jamia Millia Islamia in 1946 (Jamia Millia Archives, Delhi, 0. 20) (Hereafter *Mukhtasar Tarikh*).

found a new inspiration in the writings of Mohammad Ali's³⁰ *Comrade*³¹ and the emotive poems of Hasarat Mohani.³² The free circulation of these ideas remained largely unchecked by a complacent administration which regarded itself influential enough to counter and suppress the uprising by the student community.

By May 1920, the freedom struggle was all set to receive new levels of intensity in the wake of a unanimous agreement between the *Khilafatists* of Mahatma Gandhi to launch the Non-Cooperation Movement after the terms of the proposed treaty between Turkey and the Allied forces were published in India. It came as a rude shock to the Indian Muslims that their demands to maintain the integrity of the Muslim states as well as non-interference into the working of the institution of Caliphate, which commanded highest religious prestige in the Muslim community, were totally ignored in the terms of the treaty.³³ the terms of the treaty was also termed by Gandhi as the "staggering blow to the Indian Musalmans".³⁴ Gandhi thought that Non-Cooperation was deemed as the only remedy to redress these grievances. Immediately after the terms of the treaty were revealed, the *Central Khilafat Committee* met at Bombay to announce its decision for a non-violent non-cooperation with the British Government. In July, another Khilafat Conference was held in Sindh which was attended by Gandhi and meetings were followed up in a special session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920, in which the Non-Cooperation resolution was passed by 1855 votes to 873.

³⁰ . Mohammad Ali (1878-1931) Born in 1878 at Rampur, educated at M.A.O. College Aligarh and Lincoln College, Oxford. served as Chief Education Officer of Rampur 1900 and in the Opium Department of Baroda State. Founder editor of *Comrade*, weekly and the *Hamdard* daily, he established Anjum-i-Khuddam-i-Kaba and associated with the foundation of Aligarh Muslim University.

³¹ . *Comrade* – A newspapers in English, weekly started by Mohammad Ali which carried the political and radical ideology of Mohammad Ali on national politics.

³² . Hasrat Mohani was a great nationalist Muslim leader of 20th century India, had a radical approach and was the nationalist leader and student at M.A.O. College Aligarh. He used to write poetry through which he aroused national feelings and anti-British Government propaganda. He was known as Hasrat Mohani by his poetic name. He was first Indian nationalist leader to demand the complete Swaraj in 1921 session of Ahmedabad Congress.

³³ . Robinson, *Muslim Separatism*, p. 311.

³⁴ . *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Publication Division, Government of India, Delhi 1967, vol. 18, pp. 426-7 (Hereafter, *Collected Works of Gandhi*).

Gandhi called upon the masses of India to boycott the law Courts as well as all Government aided and controlled educational institution as envisaged in the Non-Cooperation programme.

Gandhi addressed a gathering of students at Ahmadabad on 28 September 1920 and said:

“If all Government schools are left empty, I promise, that you will see the face of India changed within a month...”³⁵

The appeal to boycott Government controlled educational institutions by Gandhi and Ali Brothers had a tremendous impact on the minds of the students. A willingness to participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement was aired frequently in various campus and discussions leading to a decision by some students to formally request to Gandhi and Ali Brothers to visit Aligarh. The purpose of the proposed visit was to urge Aligarh students to reject Colonial control of their institution.³⁶ Nationalist leaders were invited to M.A.O. College and on 11th October 1920, Gandhi along with the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Sateyadev and Dr. M.A. Ansari reached Aligarh. They were received by a sizeable number of students at the Railway station and on the other hand the College administration was planning a counter-offensive arrived with the decision of the College Syndicate of opposing any step by the nationalists to bring non-cooperation to the campus.³⁷ The next morning, the Principal of the M.A.O. College, Sir Ziauddin made a futile attempt to stop Gandhi from addressing a public meeting.³⁸ In the afternoon the students held another meeting at the Student's Union Club and invited Gandhi and the Ali Brother to occupy the floor. This meeting began with Gandhi explaining to a large gathering of emotionally charged students, the British policy towards the Khilafat and his plans for Non-Cooperation. The

³⁵ Ibid., p. 297.

³⁶ Abdul Ghaffar Madhole, *Jamia Ki Kahani*, Delhi (1965), p. 20.

³⁷ S.K. Bhatnagar, *M.A.O. College*, op.cit., p. 340.

³⁸ *Indian Annual Register*, an annual digest of Public Affairs of India, 1919-1947, ed. By H.N. Mitra, Delhi, Gyan Publication House (1988-1990), vol. I, 1921, p. 12 (hereafter *Indian Annual Register*)

Nationalist leaders presented a memorandum to the Principal and the *Honorary Secretary* in which a number of reasons for the non-cooperation with the British Government were listed. It concluded by revealing the clearest possible terms the expectations which the agitationists had from the members of the College :

“.... We therefore, call upon you and the other Trustees of M.A.O. College and member of Muslim University Association to refuse the Government grants or to not to permit any kind or sort of Government interference whether directly or indirectly through the Allahabad University or any other agency in these institutions... We are also calling upon the teachers and adult students at Aligarh to withdraw themselves upon the guardian of the other students to withdraw their wards from the College and schools...”³⁹

But no boycott call was given to M.A.O. College from students side and on 13 October which proved to be the most significant day as during the meeting at Students Union Club, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali made a brief but highly emotional speech with tears in their eyes. they said that they had come to bid farewell to the students and that they were going away with a broken heart and a change came into the mind of students and after the deportation of Ali Brothers from Union Club. Speeches were delivered in favour of Non-Cooperation. In one significant speech a point was made to seek substituted assurance from the nationalist leaders for alternative arrangements of the education if the Pro Government forces did not agree to their demand.⁴⁰ And the idea of establishing a national institution, free of Government control in the minds of nationalist leader and later on it was materialized also when their demands were failed. But after a long discussion with students and nationalist values, a resolution was passed in their meeting :

1. Students strongly condemned the attitudes adopted by the British Government towards Turkey.
2. Government in aid should be given up.

³⁹ . *Indian Annual Register*, vol. I, 1921, p. 121.

⁴⁰ . *Mukhtasar Tarikh*, op.cit., p. 237.

3. To disaffiliate the College from the Allahabad University.
4. If the Board of Trustee does not agree to disaffiliation the College and not given up the aid by 29th October 1920, students will turn the College into a national institution.⁴¹

On October 23, Mohammad Ali, Ajmal Khan and Abul Kalam Azad etc. addressed a gathering of some 300 students in the College mosque and Dr. M.A. Ansari announced that National University would be inaugurated on Friday October 29 to 1920.⁴² Gandhi also addressed a letter to the Trustee of the College from Bombay and requested the Trustees to disaffiliate the College from Allahabad University.⁴³

Authorities of M.A.O. College decided to clear the campus of the radicals, and they also decided to close the College for a month and they tried to convince the parents to take away their wards for the safety purposes. On the other hand, a decision was taken by loyalist and the College authority to reject the Non-Cooperation Movement and College was closed and evacuated from students but some of the student stayed there and Mohammad Ali and his supporters returned to Old Boys Lodge which did not belong to the College and the Movement was getting a new dimension and on 28 October 1920 a meeting was held in the College mosque for the inaugural ceremony of the National University which took place on 29th October after Friday prayers and thus the path was cleared to found a National University as a result of the impact of the Non-Cooperation Movement at the Aligarh and thus the existence of Jamia Millia Islamia came into existence at Aligarh⁴⁴.

On 30th October 1920, the Trustees of MAO College decided to get the *Old Boys Lodge* vacated because Mohammad Ali and other nationalist leader with him were staying there. Mohammad Ali and other leaders had already

⁴¹ . AIG, 20 Oct. 1920.

⁴² . Shan Mohammad, *Freedom Movement in India: Role of Ali Brothers*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 127.

⁴³ . *The Collected Works of Gandhi*, op.cit., vol. 18, p. 360.

⁴⁴ . Syed Hussain Haider, 2005. *Jamia Millia And the National Movement, 1920-1939*, M.Phil. Dissertation, AMU, Aligarh, India, 2005, pp. 30-31.

founded Jamia Millia at Aligarh on 29th October and they have established their offices at Aligarh Old Boys Lodge. The Principal of MAO College and Trustees decided to call upon the Magistrate Mr. Cable for vacating the premises of MAO College from the nationalist leaders, and on 31st October in the morning at 5:30 am Mr. Cabel the District Magistrate Aligarh along with police came there and asked Mohammad Ali and his associates to vacate the *Old Boys Lodge* because they had occupied it. They marched out peacefully from the campus and went to the grave of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and reading *Fatiha* on his grave they went to Badar Bagh a locality where they had already taken a building on rent which belonged to Kishori Lal and there they pitched 20 tents in which they located their National University i.e. Jamia Millia Islamia.⁴⁵ And thus the bastion of Muslim loyalty of MAO College saved from the onslaught of the nationalist leaders who wanted to convert the M.A.O. College into a National University and thus the Campus was vacated from the occupation of radical leaders and the pro-British institution was saved from the national politics of 20th century and the tide of nationalism which was overflowing into the College campus was stopped and thus the M.A.O. college came into smooth water.

(D) Creation of Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh

The foundation of Jamia Millia Islamia was the result of the Non-Cooperation Movement in India and it was the first institution of national character in the 20th century which was founded by nationalist leaders.

The 29th October 1920 was the momentous day of the Aligarh episode of the Non-Cooperation Movement. It was to witness the foundation of the first National University of Colonial India. From early noon, people started pouring into the College mosque and soon it was packed to the capacity. The number of student's participation was around 160 and this was certainly a setback for the College authority because of their pro-nationalist attitude to a pro-British

⁴⁵ S.K. Bhatnagar, op.cit., p. 349.

institution.⁴⁶ The nationalist leaders had invited Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan of Deoband, who had been a state prisoner at Malta and was set free a few weeks ago to preside the ceremony of founding of the Jamia Millia Islamia on 29th October. Mohammad Ali, Ajmal Khan, M.A. Ansari and other leaders escorted Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan from the residence of Abdul Majid Khwaja⁴⁷ to the College mosque⁴⁸. After the Friday prayers, the inaugural ceremony began with Ajmal Khan proposing Maulana's name for the presidentship of the foundation ceremony. Due to his ill health, the Presidential address was read by an Alim of Deoband Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usman. The address explained the status of institution to be completely independent from the Government aid and control and spelled out its objective of developing a system of education in accordance with nationalist sentiment and in harmony with the tenets of Islam.⁴⁹

The presidential address was followed by a speech by Mohammad Ali who focused his desire to change the MAO College into a National Institution.⁵⁰ Hasrat Mohani condemned the pro-British sentiments of the Board of Trustees of MAO College and called them heretics and kafir. To start the institution without infrastructure for this, money was donated and Ajmal Khan announced Rs. 1000/- while Mohammad Naseem promised Rs. 500/- for newly founded National Muslim University or Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh.⁵¹ Jamia Millia Islamia was founded within the premises of MAO College and office was established in the Old Boy's Lodge to take care of admissions and other formalities of the institution in earlier stage. But the College authorities treated

⁴⁶ . Shan Mohammad, *Freedom Movement in India*, op.cit., p. 129.

⁴⁷ . Abdul Majid Khwaja belonged to a wealthy family of Aligarh; educated at MAO college and Cambridge 1904-07; a contemporary of Jawaharlal at Cambridge; called to the Bar; joined MAO college; as Junior Professor of Law, 1910-11; Trustee MAO college. Secretary Old Boys Association MAO, 1915; joined Gandhiji in Non-Co-operation; succeeded Mohammad Ali as Principal Jamia Millia, 1921; associated with the Muslim League and *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind*; contested election on Swaraj Party Ticket, 1923; advocated Joint Electorate; a staunch nationalist.

⁴⁸ . *Indian Annual Register*, op.cit., p. 128.

⁴⁹ . Ibid.

⁵⁰ . Ibid., p. 125.

⁵¹ . Shan Mohammad, *Freedom Movement in India*, op.cit., p. 130.

all this as an infringement on their rights and decided to act the following message of the Honorary-Secretary which appeared in various papers of October 30th. as.

“It has been reported to me that Mr. Mohammad Ali forcibly opened some of the rooms of the College building and had forcibly started making admissions to what he calls his National University... he should immediately vacate the College premises by 3.30 pm on October 30 and that he should not address any meeting within the boundaries of the College...”⁵²

The Secretary of MAO College Syed Mohammad Ali also addressed an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi in which he criticized Mohammad Ali's decision to convert the College into a National Institution.⁵³ Some of the supporters of the Mohammad Ali who were not having any intention to take the path of confrontation with the College authorities and even some of the students with Mohammad Ali wanted to establish Jamia Millia Islamia somewhere else. The nationalist leaders such as Ajmal Khan, M.A. Ansari and Abdul Majid Khwaja were also in favour of setting of the separate institution but Mohammad Ali showed no sign of complying with the order and he was adamant to convert this MAO College into a National Institution and thus led to the prompt action of College authorities and Aligarh District Administration.⁵⁴

Therefore, the authorities of MAO College ultimately decided to go for a forcible evacuation and District Magistrate of Aligarh, Cable deployed his forces all over the campus, and he came with Honorary Secretary to the Old Boys Lodge with an armed constabulary and served Mohammad Ali a notice to vacate it. The Non-Cooperators holding green flag, next Mohammad Ali and other leaders gradually marched towards their new abode which was hastily arranged by Ajmal Khan comprising a rented house and some pitched tent just opposite Minto Circle.⁵⁵ Mahatma Gandhi justified the steps of students and

⁵² . S.K. Bhatnagar, op.cit., p. 345.

⁵³ . AIG, Oct. 30, 1920.

⁵⁴ . Ibid., Nov. 1920.

⁵⁵ . S.K. Bhatnagar, op.cit., p. 348.

Non-Cooperators to join the National University at Aligarh.⁵⁶ Thus the non-cooperators with the British reached a tangible point at Aligarh with sizeable number of students of MAO College joining the national University. And nationalism was invoked with great enthusiasm in a pro-British institution. On 22 November a *Muslim National University Foundation Committee* was organized and elected Hakim Ajmal Khan as President and Haji Musa Khan of Aligarh as its Secretary. Ali Brothers, Gandhi, Maulana Azad, M.A. Ansari and Hasrat Mohani were presented at the meeting and it was resolved to begin the institution with new devised standard curriculum with addition of theology. The committee also voted to arrange for examination without saying by which they would be recognized, and to affiliate other national institutions outside Aligarh.⁵⁷ In this way Jamia Millia Islamia was created at Aligarh and later on it was shifted to outskirts of New Delhi under the able supervision of nationalist leaders like Dr. Zakir Husain, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammad Ali and many others.⁵⁸

The main purpose of the establishment of Jamia Millia Islamia was to act as a counter weight to the Government sponsored University at Aligarh and they wanted to make their institution free of all Government interference and for this they wholeheartedly committed and thus they created their own National University.

(E) Development of Separatist Ideology in Aligarh and Creation of Pakistan

After the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the late 19th century Muslim community became hostile with the attitude of British Government which raised their political consciousness towards their political concern. And to get a share in the administration they started Movement to form their political organization to represent their grievances to the British Government. And in this direction, with efforts of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Agha Khan and

⁵⁶ Indian Annual Register, op.cit., p. 126-127.

⁵⁷ The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, op.cit., vol. 18, p. 421.

⁵⁸ The Bombay Chronicle, 29th November, 1920.

many other leaders together formed the All India Muslim League in 1906. With the foundation of Muslim League and thus the goal of separate electorate was achieved in 1909 and try to put their political concern to the British Government and demanded their share in the British administration separately for Muslims. But with the foundation of Muslim league did not stop the Muslim Nationalists leader to participate in the National Movement against British as the main motive of Muslim League was to indoctrinate the Muslim loyalty to the British Government. But there were many Muslim leaders, students who participated in National Movement.⁵⁹ Tufail Ahmed Manglori one of the Aligarh's Old Boy criticized the Muslim basic demand for separate electorate and his views were shared by other students.⁶⁰ Even the Vice President of the Student Union assured his countrymen of Aligarh's positive role in India's struggle for freedom Movement. To a distinguished gathering he asked the audience that :

"to turn ourselves into biggest... The most educated and the most united army... to fight against evils that have made India the laughing stock of the world and let nobody say that Aligarh lagged behind anybody in India's battle of freedom..."⁶¹

During the Non-Cooperation Movement many students participated in it and most of them joined Swaraj Party⁶² which had C.R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Khaliquzzaman as President, Secretary and Additional Secretary respectively. Rafi Ahmad Qidwai worked as private Secretary to Motilal Nehru. J.A.K. Sherwani, Abdul Majid Khawaja and Syed Raza Ali (1882-1949)⁶³ contested the election on Swaraj Party ticket.

⁵⁹ . Tufail Ahmed Manglori (1868-1948). Born at Mangalore, District Saharanpur (U.P.) joined Aligarh High School, 1879 and passed Entrance Examination, 1887; Passed F.A. 1889 but could not appear in B.A. examination because of eye-sight problem; entered the Government service and retired in 1926, a great supporter of Aligarh Movement and a staunch nationalist: member of the Provincial Legislative Council U.P. 1926-30.

⁶⁰ . See Syed Tufail Ahmad, *Separate or Joint Electorate*, (Aligarh, 1927).

⁶¹ . Mushirul Hasan, "Nationalist and Separatist Trends in Aligarh" in the *Indian Journal of Politics*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3,4, September, Delhi, 1984, p. 6.

⁶² . See All India Congress Committee (AICC), *Papers*; File No. 1/1923, F.No. 3/1923.

⁶³ . Syed Raza Ali Khan (1882-1949). Passed B.A. and LL.B. from M.A.O. College, practiced at Allahabad, a Swarajist and a Khilafatist; later joined Muslim League, presided its Bombay Session, 1924, Member U.P. Legislative Council, 1919 and 1920; was a leading spokesman of

Among the staff member who participated in the national Movement and fought for the independence, were Professor Mohammad Habib, Professor Rasheed Ahmad Siddique (1892-1977)⁶⁴, Khwaja Ghulam us Saiyadin, Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf, Maulana Abu Bakar Shah, Syed Mohammad Tonki⁶⁵ (1898-1974) etc. They wrote articles and attended the Congress session.⁶⁶ During the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement, a number of Nationalist leader were called by the staff and student of M.A.O. College. On the request of the Students Union Gandhi paid a visit to the University on November 5, 1929 and was given a rousing reception. He asked the students for a broader outlook on life and an impartial and unbiased study of all religions which would accelerate the pace of nationalism in India.⁶⁷

Dr. Ansari also visited the University and presided over the Annual prize distribution function⁶⁸. Even Jawaharlal Nehru also visited the University Campus and was received by Sir Ross Masood the Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University at that time.⁶⁹

But a change came in the attitude of the Aligarh community with the publication of the *Nehru Report* in 1928 and from that onwards the separatist trend started developing in Aligarh community and leadership. The failure of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in *National Convention* (1929) where he put his fourteen points but he failed to convince the National leaders which made the situation worst and an inclination of Muslims community of Aligarh towards the Muslim League became inevitable. The Nehru Report broadly discussed the

the League; Member Public Service Commission 1926-1931; Delegate to the League of Nations, 1929; Knighthood, 1936 but renounced his title at the call of Muslim League.

⁶⁴ Rashid Ahmad Siddique (1892-1977). Born at Qasba Mandvahun, Jaunpur (U.P.), joined M.A.O. College and passed B.A. and M.A. in 1919 and 1921 respectively; appointed lecturer at AMU, Department of Urdu, 1926; Reader, 1935 and Professor and Head, 1954; a great writer of Urdu prose.

⁶⁵ Syed Mohammad Tonki (1898-1974). Born at Tonk; joined MA.O. College for B.A. but left and joined Jamia Millia Islamia; participated in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement; a renowned nationalist and fought for the independence.

⁶⁶ Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit., p. 86.

⁶⁷ *Annual Report of the Aligarh Muslim University for the year 1929*.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶⁹ Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit., p. 85.

representation of Muslims in the legislatures Councils and Ali Brothers, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other Muslim leaders demanded 1/3rd representation of Muslim in the Legislature Council. They also differed with the demand of Dominion Status put by the Nehru Report. They stood for complete independence for India. Differences grew to such an extent that Jinnah and Ali Brothers withdrew from the Congress. Though on the demand of 1/3rd representation of Muslims, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Azad, were also in favour of it but they continued their association with it.⁷⁰

After the failure of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's fourteen points which became a charter of the Muslim League and thus Jinnah became skeptical though he had withdrawn his support from the Congress, he did not oppose it and till 1936 and had his attitude towards Congress as friendly and stood for the cause of India's independence as was clear from his Lucknow speech to the *All India Students Conference*.⁷¹

On the other hand when National Movement was taken up through the platform of All India Congress which gained support from the different communities of India and soon became a popular organization among the Indian people. But in spite its popularity the Congress leadership in 1930's realized that the masses were still untouched. Therefore the *Faizpur Congress* directed all the Provincial Congress Committees to increase its base among the Indian people through the mass contacts to make Congress a more organized and strong body. Also during the election campaign (1937) [under the Act of 1935, election was to be held in 1935] a Congress Bulletin issued on January 12, 1937 which said that it desired 'to increase the participation of masses into the Congress'.⁷²

During the election campaign, Jawaharlal Nehru also realized that the Muslim masses were neglected and wrote to all Provincial Congress to enroll

⁷⁰. Motilal Nehru Papers, File No. 117-151, GI (NAI).

⁷¹. Home Department 'Political' 1928, File No. 4/938.

⁷². Home Department, "Political" F.No. 4/3/38.

Muslims so that they could also take part in freedom struggle.⁷³ Dr. Ashraf, one of the Secretaries of the Congress wrote articles in paper asking the Muslims to join the Congress and also sent letters to Local Congress Offices to make it vigorously.⁷⁴ Dr. Ashraf wrote personal letters and received encouraging replies. Ahmad Wahab Khairi, Honorary Librarian Aligarh Muslim University in his reply of April 12, 1937 while expressing his gratitude to Ashraf for sending him, the Congress Election Manifesto, requested him on behalf of the Muslim students of AMU to furnish more literature on the Congress Movement. Khairi had been the Vice President of the AMU Students Union and lent his full support to propagate the Congress ideals.⁷⁵ From different quarters of the country Muslims were eager to join the Congress membership e.g. Syed Attaullah Shah, Advocate High Court, Lohare and Syed Mustafa Ali Zaidi, Vakil Faizabad, also expressed their intense desire to join Congress's Mass Contact Movement.⁷⁶ Thus the Congress call for the Muslim Mass contact Movement was very well attended by the Muslims and there is no dearth of letters of Aligarian in the All India Congress Committee file in support of this programme. But the Congress Committee in the Provinces looked down upon the Muslims, did not like their association with the Congress and treated them harshly. Muslims soon started informing the *Central Congress Committee* about it.

The President of Parappil, *Calicut Congress Propaganda Committee* wrote to the President of All India Congress Committee (AICC), in 1937 about the injustice done by the local Congress leader to them.⁷⁷ Mazhar Husain from Bombay briefed Jawaharlal Nehru about the communal attitude of its non-

⁷³. AICC Papers F.No.P.1/1937-38.

⁷⁴. AICC Papers, File No. 25/1937. This files contain many letters of Ashraf written to Congress Committees of different places.

⁷⁵. AICC Papers, F.No. 25/1937, F.N.G.68, 1937.

⁷⁶. Ibid, F.No. 25 1937, F.N.G.68, 1937.

⁷⁷. AICC Papers, F.No.41/1937.

Muslim leaders and implored him to purge the Congress from religiously minded Congress leaders if he wished a united nationality.⁷⁸

The Central Congress Committee received a number of letters regarding the unsympathetic attitude of local non-Muslim leaders towards Muslims in its fold and to convince them of its non-communal character the Indian National Congress resolution on minority rights in its Haripura Congress (1938) February 19-21, 1931 passed.⁷⁹

On the other hand the Congress Ministries in the six provinces were not performing well in these provinces and incessant propaganda was found in the newspapers against the Muslims and the Government stood in a mute silence. Communal riots had become common feature and there was allegation against Congress for their atrocities on Muslims in their ruled Provinces.

Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, a pro Congress faction demanded an enquiry in the Congress ruled Provinces to ensure the charges made against the Congress.⁸⁰

Such allegations of Muslims were not to be set aside by the Muslim League and Committee under the Chairmanship of Raja Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur and S.M. Sharif were appointed to investigate the charges which noted the atrocities of non-Muslims over the minorities. Scores of letters in the AICC file bear testimony to which the Mussalmans had written to the Congress High Command.⁸¹

The majority of students and officials of Aligarh Muslim University still believed in Congress programme of secularism. But hue and cry raised by the Muslim League of Hindu communalism furnishing details on the basis of the Pirpur and *Sharif Committee* turned the table in favour of the League.

⁷⁸. Ibid. File No. 41/1937.

⁷⁹. Shan Mohammad. *Education and Politics*, op.cit., p. 125.

⁸¹. AICC Paper, F.No. G.32/1938.

⁸¹. AICC Paper, F.No. D.7/1938-39.

Gradually and steadily, they started realizing that the League represented the Muslims and it could truly do something for them. Jinnah made the most of such a situation, formed an All India Muslim students Federation, a separate organization of Muslim students to which he opposed earlier to fight for the Muslim's against the Congress.⁸²

After the (1937) election to the Provinces, results were declared with seat sharing with Muslim League in U.P. (leader) of Muslim League was Khaliquzzaman) led trouble and there was fight for power and security. On the other hand AMU has been home of the Muslim politics since the days of Sir Syed; a change had come in its attitude. Muslim League's clamour over the Congress Ministers and its unfair policies to the minorities turned the table in favour of the Muslim League. Dr. Ziauddin the Vice-Chancellor and A.B.A. Haleem had already changed the creed when Provincial Governor Sir Hary Haig of U.P. visited the University and Dr. Sir Ziauddin in his address brought many political questions. He referred to the Constitution and reform i.e. the Provincial autonomy which was to transfer limited power and responsibility to India. He expressed his anxiety for the minority in that set up.⁸³ The Governor in his reply assured the University Community and through it to the Muslim of India that he would see to their due share in the administration and services.⁸⁴

So the situation was turned and efforts were made to hoist the Muslim League's flag on the Students Union's building by some of the students led by Ansar Harvani⁸⁵. The leader of the Congress group of students, opposed the hoisting of League's flag on the union building, but the pro League section ultimately had an upper hand and Jinnah who was to address the Union. On February 7, 1938 unfurled the League's flag on the students Union building at

⁸² . Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit.p. 126.

⁸³ . See Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*. Also see *The Aligarh Muslim University Gazette*, January 22, 1937.

⁸⁴ . Ibid.

⁸⁵ . Ansar Harvani received education at Lucknow, Agra and Aligarh, Nationalist; founder and first General Secretary All India Students Federation 1936-39; President All India Youth League 1946-56; took part in Quit India Movement; arrested and imprisoned, 1942; and released 1946; serve service has been his object in life.

9.30 a.m. This divided the University into two hostile campus of nationalists Muslim students and the section of League students, the latter having an upper hand because of the support of the Vice Chancellor, Prof. A.B.A. Halcem who openly backed the Muslim League. Nationalist Muslim students were holed down, abused and mal-treated by the students having Muslim League's ideology. It was difficult for them to stay in the hostel and Reyazur Rehman Sherwani⁸⁶ who was a student at that time narrates that it was a time of great anxiety for the nationalist students as they were threatened by the opposite side yet they formed the Nationalist students Federation and met secretly from time to time.⁸⁷ *Muslim Students Federation*, a Pro-League Congress organization had come into being and it launched a paper '*Bedar*' to awaken the Muslims and apprise them of Congress atrocities on Muslim and when students from Assam, Bengal, Punjab, Sindh and Hyderabad when they went to their home during summer vacation they carried with them the message of Muslim League.⁸⁸

The Pro League administration of the University was so hostile to nationalist Muslim students that they were denied admission and some of them were turned out of the University. While Ali Sardar Zafar, Jalil Abbas, Khalilur Rab Zaminr Siddiqui, Mirza Subhar Usman and Fazal Bhir were expelled from the University rolls. Articles from Khawaja Ahmad Abbas and Khawaja Ghulam Sayaddin were not accepted for the University Magazine.⁸⁹ Aftab Hall, the centre of brisk political activities was throughout with nationalist students. There was a tussle for supremacy between League and the Congress faction of students. The nationalist students sent letters to the *National Herald* justifying the Congress policies. The paper published all these letters under the caption : "Aligarh Students Revolt". The loyal administration took it seriously and

⁸⁶ . Riyaz-ur Rahman Sherwani, educated at AMU Oriental College Lahore and Cairo University, Cairo, was appointed Lecturer in the department of Arabic, 1953, Reader 1970; Professor and Head of the Arabic Department, University of Kashmir, 1933, a brilliant scholar in his field.

⁸⁷ . Reaz-ur Rahman Sherwani, 'Aftab Hostel Ke Panch Sal' in *Aftab Yaden* Number 1976, p. 61.

⁸⁸ . See, Ale Ahmad Suroor, *Khwal Baqi Hai*, Aligarh, 1941.

⁸⁹ . Ibid.

writers of the letters were not considered for admission in the ensuing year. There number was about 40.⁹⁰

On December 11, 1938 in the Strachy Hall the portrait of Mohammad Ali Jinnah who had by now come to be called *Qaid-i-Azam* was unveiled by Sir Abdullah Haroon⁹¹ who was the chief speaker of the occasion. Prof. A.B.A. Haleem, the Pro Vice Chancellor also made a speech and asked the Students Union to put the portrait in the Centre of the Union Hall to enable the students to emulate the teaching of the *Qaid*.⁹² Frequent visits of the influential Leagues to the University had perfectly taken it in its grip and the AMU had become a major centre of League's politics. Jinnah visited the University again on March 31, 1939 and asked students and the staff to be loyal to the League. Since Muslim students Federation was formed all over the country they presented their addresses to the *Qaid-e-Azam*.⁹³

On Pakistan Movement, Pamphlets and magazines were published by the University League. After the Congress's resignation from Congress Ministers in September 1939, Muslim League celebrated on December 22, 1939 the 'Day of Deliverance' and 'thanks giving'. A *University Muslim League* was also formed with Dr. Abid Ali as its president who promised whole hearted support to the Central League.⁹⁴ And now Aligarh had become the centre of Leagues politics, and on 23 March 1940, Lahore Resolution was passed and demand for Pakistan was raised on the basis of the two nation theory.⁹⁵

Jinnah thus intensified the Pakistan Movement and Aligarh became the centre of Muslim League in Northern India when its Provincial Conferences

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Sir Abdullah Haroon was an influential businessman; joined Indian National Congress, 1917 and started taking part in the national movement; President Khilafat Committee of Sindh; elected to the Bombay Legislative Council, 1924-26; a staunch Muslim Leader, endorsed the Pakistan Resolution 1940 did great social work.

⁹² *The Aligarh Muslim University Gazettee*, 1938, December 1935.

⁹³ Ibid., April 1939.

⁹⁴ *The AMU Gazettee*, Feb. 1, March 15, 1940.

⁹⁵ Jamal ud Din Ahmad, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, pp. 118-10.

were convened and resolution in support of Pakistan was passed. And from the Student Union's Platform its Vice president Mr. Nasrul Hasan said: "Pakistan is our creed and our policies is based on it....". Also in 1944 Gandhi Jinnah initiated a talk to solve the communal tangle. But it failed and Jinnah and Liaquat Ali came to Aligarh and propagated for a sovereign state on the fundamental concept of Muslims being a separate nation which Gandhi denied. In 1944 Aligarh Magazine issued a "*Pakistan Number*" which received messages from Jinnah, Liyaqat Ali, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, and Dr. Sir Ziauddin etc. they, with one voice appealed to the Muslim youths to give them the best Muslim to the building of the pillars from which could rest the edifice of Pakistan.⁹⁶

The acceptance of the Mountbatton Plan divided the country into two dominions States in 1947 and thus a Pakistan was created - and the role of Aligarh's League could be seen here.

⁹⁶. *The Aligarh Magazine*. Pakistan Number. 1944.

CHAPTER - VI

**DR. SIR ZIAUDDIN
AND
ALIGARH MOVEMENT**



Dr. Sir Ziauddin
Founding Pro Vice Chancellor: Dec.17, 1920 to 1928

CHAPTER-VI

DR. SIR ZIAUDDIN AND ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad whose career and contributions not only span an important era of Modern Indian History but his role in Aligarh Movement is more significant than the other Vice Chancellors of the Aligarh Muslim University as he received his school education and graduation from premier institution of Sir Syed i.e. M.A.O. College, where later on he served with much devotion on Sir Syed's request. His contribution to the development of modern education among the Muslims of India resembles the aims of the founder of College. He was to some extent a successful in his attempt to bring the Muslims into Government service as it was one of the principal goals of Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to high light the personality of Dr. Sir Ziauddin and his contribution to the development of Aligarh Movement in 20th century. An attempt is also made to analyze his role in the in the expansion of the MAO College into a University. Focus has also been given to assess his role during the Non Cooperation and Partition Movement in the 20th century.

(A) Biographical Sketch of Sir Ziauddin

Ziauddin Ahmad was born in 1877 at Meerut, in a well-known Zubairi family. The family of Sir Ziauddin had the tracts of intellectual lineage in the western U.P.'s towns of Marehra, Amroha, Bareilly and Meerut.¹ There has been some land holdings in Bareilly but Ziauddin's grandfather had lost them in family dispute. His father was a Tehsildar in the British Revenue Administration, posted away from home and he was brought up by his maternal grandmother. He received his early education at Meerut from a Kambu Maktab. Later he

¹. David Lelyveld , Three Aligarh Students; Aftab Ahmad Khan, Ziauddin Ahmad and Mohammad Ali, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. IX, 1974.

went to the Government School in Meerut and afterwards he joined M.A.O. College in 1889 with his elder brother at the age of twelve.² He got his graduation degree from M.A.O. College in 1895 and secured Honours in Mathematics and received the *Strachey Gold Medal* from Sir Allen Cadell Governor of U.P.³ After that he went to *Trinity College*, Cambridge and also joined *Gottenge University* (Germany, for Ph.D.). He also studied at *Bologna University* at *Al Azhar* and had distinguished himself in Mathematics. He was a favourite student of Sir Theodore Morison who secured for him a nomination as Deputy Collector but he declined the offer and made a solemn promise to Sir Syed that he would serve the institution of his alma mater to his last breath and the same he fulfilled.⁴

The career of Sir Ziauddin started as a temporary teacher at the High School section of M.A.O. College at a salary of Rs 16/- a month. After the exam results were out Mr. Beck,⁵ who was then Principal of the College, and Sir Morrison suggested that Ziauddin Ahmed accept a position as Deputy Collector with U.P. Government which paid Rs. 500/- at that time. Some of his relatives also encouraged him to do that. Yet, he declined the offer and accepted a position as assistant lecturer at the College at a salary of Rs. 60/- per month. Something quite interesting happened at this time. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had a contract drawn for Ziauddin to sign. The contract stated that Ziauddin would serve the M.A.O. College for a period of no less than five years. Ziauddin told him that he planned to spend his entire life there. He further stated that if a person is forced to stay there because of a contract then it would not be worth keeping him. At this point Sir Syed Ahmed Khan tore up the contract, and thus began the career of Ziauddin as a teacher.⁶

² . Mohammad Amin Zubairi, *Zia-i-Hayat*, Karanchi (n.d.), pp. 11-14.

³ . S.K. Bhatnagar. *MAO College*, op.cit., p. 132.

⁴ . K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 198.

⁵ . The Principal of the MAO College (1883-1889) who was very close to Sir Syed.

⁶ . See the article of Habeeb A. Zuberi, *Sir Ziauddin*, appeared in the website www.aligarhmovement.com, accessed on 14-10-2012, p.1-4 Also See the Biographical portion of Sir Ziauddin. Amin Zubairi, *Zia-i-Hayat*, op.cit., p.11-14.

Although he was hired to teach Mathematics, he taught other subjects as well when in 1897. Professor Arnold, who taught Logic at the college resigned and due to the paucity of funds, did not permit the College to hire a new faculty member from England therefore Ziauddin was assigned to teach logic. In addition he coached students who were seeking admission at Roorkie Engineering College. He often left Aligarh to complete his education. For example he went to Europe where he completed Ph.D. at Goettingen University in 1904, then spent two additional years in various countries before returning to Aligarh in 1906.. He also served as an Acting Principal of M.A.O. College for a short time in 1913. In 1917, he was nominated to serve on Calcutta University Commission, known as Sadler Commission. When in 1919, the term of Sir Sunder Lal, Vice-Chancellor Allahabad University, serving as a member of the Provincial Assembly came to an end the university nominated Dr. Ziauddin as their representative in the State Assembly. In 1922, He was re-elected to the State Assembly.⁷ In 1930, Dr. Sir Ziauddin was elected to Central Assembly (now Parliament) from Gorakhpur, Banaras, Allahabad and Jhansi Muslim Constituency. He was repeatedly elected from different constituencies and served in the Central Legislature until 1947. He served his alma mater in capacity of Pro-Vice Chancellor (December, 17, 1920 to 1928) and Vice Chancellor on first term from 13th April 1935 to 29th April 1938. and for the second term from 24th April 1941 to 23rd April 1947.⁸ During his last days he resigned from the office of Vice-Chancellor over some petty issues and went to England to collect funds for Medical College and died after some months in 1947 and he was laid to rest in Aligarh.

⁷ Habeeb A. Zuberi, *Sir Ziauddin*, op. cit., p.2-8.

⁸ See the article by Naved Masood, *Reflections on Aligarh Vice-Chancellors*, appeared in the website www.aligarhmovement.com accessed on 14-10-2012. p.1-2.

(B) Sir Ziauddin and Khilafat and Non Cooperation Movement

Dr. Ziauddin's role during the Non-Cooperation Movement earned for him harsh criticism from nationalist trend at Aligarh. When Mohammad Ali entered into the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movement in M.A.O. College in 1920, it was a tense situation at the strong bastion of traditional loyalty to the British Government of which Sir Syed was pioneer. Mohammad Ali and his supporters were also the members of *Board of Trustees* at M.A.O. College, sent an ultimatum to the Board of Trustees to give up any further grants in aid from the government and to refuse any kind of government interference in the affairs of the College and to disaffiliate the College from Allahabad University but the Trustees did not comply by 29th October as it was the date of ultimatum for them and they extended to call upon the teachers and students to withdraw from the College.⁹ At this critical juncture, the College authorities and the principal of the M.A.O. College, Dr. Sir Ziauddin, who acted upon the situation and wrote a letter to all parents of the Aligarh students, requesting them to come and take charge of their boys before the fateful day and thus he prevented the onslaught of the radicals to MAO College. The Tribune observed the efforts of Dr. Ziauddin as:

“...the efforts of the Sir Syed; of his successors and the combined devotion and energy of the community for the last forty five years... from being washed”.¹⁰

Under the able guidance of Dr. Ziauddin and the College authorities they rejected the ultimatum of radicals demand to change the institution of Sir Syed into a National University and any sort of co-operation of British Government, he saved the College from onslaught of the British Government. In this way the role of Dr. Ziauddin in Non-Cooperation Movement was not anti-national, but it was the need of the time to maintain traditional loyalty of the founder and to gain the British favour and support for the immature efforts of the University Movement which was launched by the successor of Sir Syed to get a University

⁹ See, *Independent*, 15 October 1920.

¹⁰ *The Tribune*, 21 October, 1920.

of their own terms and after some days the same was granted in the form of Aligarh Muslim University in 1920.

Dr. Ziauddin had learned from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that Muslims should not get themselves involved in politics until such time they were at par in education with other communities in India. He, as a loyal follower of Sir Syed, approached the university authorities, and convinced them to keep the College out of this struggle. He, therefore, firmly opposed the actions by the student body and, when the crisis deepened, closed the College for a short time and sent students home.

(C) Sir Ziauddin and His Role in National Politics of the country

Dr. Ziauddin was also blamed for the pro-Muslim League politics in the Aligarh Muslim University, and during his second term of Vice chancellorship from (1941-1947), the influence of Muslim League increased in the AMU campus. Though he was an active supporter of Muslim League and he also attended the *Lahore Session of Muslim League* in 1940 where Pakistan Resolution was passed with much fanfare. He together with the Nawab of Chattari represented Aligarh at the Lahore session.¹¹ But in true sense he was not in favour of the partition of the country. As a member of the Legislative Assembly he also signed the Pledge for Pakistan, framed at Madras in 1941¹² but he did not believe in the partition of the country. He believed in some constitutional safeguards for the Muslims to protect their rights and he felt that Aligarh must have a different role that what it was playing.¹³

Before few days of Partition, Dr. Ziauddin's approach to partition was different as is reflected from his meeting which he called of the senior members of the staff to focus on the of Muslim League's politics in the campus. He had the opinion that the political realism demanded that Aligarh should withdraw itself

¹¹ . Ikram Ali Malik, *Muslim League Session 1940 and the Lahore Resolution* (Muslim League Documents of Islamabad) XVII, 1990.

¹² . See Ibid., pp. 331-32 for the text of the pledge.

¹³ . Aligarh Muslim University Gazettee (AMU Council), Jan. 22, 1937.

from the political forefront. Dr. Ziauddin's views on the League's politics became known to the students and when he was still speaking, a group of students belonging to Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provinces (NWFP), in great resentment entered the Strachey Hall, the venue of the meeting with anti-Ziauddin slogans and demanded his resignation which he did under pressure.¹⁴

After his resignation he went to London to collect donation for Medical College at Aligarh but fell ill and died on December 23, 1947. The *Indian High Commissioner* at London Mr. Krishna Menon and the *Foreign Secretary*, Sir Grija Shankar Bajpayee to whom, he was very close, arranged to send the dead body to Aligarh where amidst tears and sorrows by tens of thousands of his admirers, government officials and University community, he was laid to rest on the right side of Sir Syed, a place he actually deserved. In his last days Dr. Ziauddin opted for his homeland and his country welcomed him in death with all care it could offer. Thus the Aligarh School lost one brilliant son who withstood the challenges of the time.

(D) Achievements of Sir Ziauddin

While Ziauddin was at Aligarh, he was highly impressed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his approach to modernize education so that Muslims could be brought into the main stream of Indian life in a way that was consistent with new political realities. Even before completing his B.A degree he went to Marchra, a small town in District Etah where a number of his relatives lived, and convinced them to start a school on the same pattern as M.A.O. College. He invited Sir Morrison, a faculty member at M.A.O. College, in 1894, to Marchra to lay down the foundation stone of Morrison Islamia School.¹⁵

¹⁴ K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit., p. 224.

¹⁵ Habeeb A. Zuberi, *Sir Ziauddin*, op.cit., p.2-3

Tarikh al Talim¹⁶ written by Dr. Sir Ziauddin contains the educational ideals of Dr. Sir Ziauddin. Dr. Sahib often bent rules to help students. Dr. Amir Husain Siddiqui states that: "Dr. Ziauddin created educational aids, reduced fees and other expenditure, relaxed the rules for admission and examinations and encouraged extra lectures for those who fell short of attendance."¹⁷ These policies made him very popular among student as well as among the parents of the students. He even introduced the system of private examinations because the government of India did not permit the affiliation of Colleges and Schools to the University. It was not clear whether students could appear in exams as private candidates, but he continued this practice while he served as P.V.C. He encouraged informal relations between faculty and students.¹⁸

He often used to help students to get their degrees and find employment. Sometimes his actions, to accomplish this goal, undermined the quality of education."¹⁹ When the struggle for the University Movement was on its peak, Sir Ziauddin suggested for the residential University and had the opinion of an affiliating cum residential University which would bring in its fold all the Aligarh model institutions and aimed at enabling its graduates to complete successfully with other Indians and to win political leadership of the Muslim community.²⁰

He made long speeches in the Assembly arguing that minorities should have proportional representation in government services relative to their population size. He recommended students for all kind of employment ranging from clerical and administrative to military. Dr. Sir Ziauddin wanted to establish Engineering College in the campus. He, therefore, launched a program to establish an Institute of Technology. For the implementation of this program Nawab of Jungadh donated Rs 50,000/-. Nawab Muzzamil Ullah

¹⁶ K.A. Nizami, *History of AMU*, op.cit p. 198.

¹⁷ Maulvi Mohammed Ameen Zuberi, Zafar Zuberi, ed, *Zia-i-Hayat* (second ed.) Karanchi, 1999, P.18.(Henceforth *Zia-i-Hayat* 2nd edition.)

¹⁸ Habeeb A. Zuberi, *Sir Ziauddin*, op.cit., p.2-3

¹⁹ See Iftikhar Alam Khan, *Aligarh Ki Kahani Imaratoun Ki Zahani*, pp. 54-56).

²⁰ David, *Campaign for University*, op.cit., p. 149.

Khan, a great benefactor of the University, in a letter to the Executive Council wrote that he was happy to see a Technical School being established and to make its success he would donate his Johnson Factory Building. He also donated two of his old cars so that students enrolled in motor engineering course could work on those cars.²¹

The Department of Technology received the highest priority in Dr. Sahib's preferences for the advancement of education at AMU. In 1937, he proposed to establish a College of Technology. This College, he stated, would prepare students for electrical, mechanical, sanitary, civil engineering and agricultural farming. Other related subjects to be developed included applied chemistry, electro-chemistry, and chemistry of textile. Same year, the Technology workshop came into existence. Its foundation stone was laid down by Nawab of Rampur. At the same time a radio station began to operate from the Technical Institute under the supervision of Durrani, who was appointed Superintendent of the Technology Institute. In 1937, Girls Intermediate College became a Degree College and was affiliated with the university. At the same time, upon his recommendation, for the first time, girls were admitted to Teachers Training College.²² He proposed to establish a military college on campus. He sent this proposal to the Government of India in October, 1937. He also invited Lord Wellington, Governor General and viceroy of India, to come to Aligarh and receive an honorary LLD degree. At that time His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad also came to Aligarh and donated funds for the construction of the Cricket Pavilion. He made an effort to establish an airport near the University in 1942 for which Nawab of Bhopal contributed Rs. 50,000/- to build an aeronautic workshop. The University acquired a plane as well, enabling

²¹ Iftikhar Alam Khan. op.cit., p.149.

²² See for details, *Zia-i-Hayat* 2nd edition.

students to take flying lessons. He proposed to establish a department of applied physics and to attach it with the College of Engineer College.²³

As mentioned earlier, Dr. Ziauddin's commitment was not limited to Aligarh but he was succeeded in convincing the people of North West Frontier Province to establish a College in Peshawar. He laid down the foundation stone of Islamia College there as well as the foundation stone of Islamia College, Lahore. Now he devoted the rest of his time in India raising funds for the medical college at Aligarh. M.S. Aney, Governor of Bihar, wrote about Dr. Sir Ziauddin "...Last I met him was when he came to Colombo on a deputation of the Aligarh University to collect funds for the Medical College. I believe he made handsome collections there and was received very warmly, not just by Mohammedans at Colombo, but by other communities also. I had great respect for his learning and versatility."²⁴

Thus we could see the attempts made by Sir Ziauddin to the developments of Muslims not to raise their educational standard but he made his earnest efforts to improve their economic condition.

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See for details, Habeeb A. Zuberi, *Sir Ziauddin*, *op.cit.*

²⁴

Zia-e-Hayat, second ed. *op.cit.*, p.101.

CHAPTER - VII

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AND MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION

CHAPTER-VII

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AND MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION

(A) Aligarh Movement and Early Muslim Women Discourses during 19th Century

During the 19th century women became the subject of reforms in the socio-religious programme of the educated modern thinkers of India. Raja Rammohan Roy was the first in the 19th century reformers, who considered as the “champion of women rights” because of his social reform movements against the system of *Sati*¹. Ishwar Chandra Vidhya Sagar championed female education and led the campaign to legalise widow remarriage. Keshew Chandra Sen, a leader of Brahmo Samaj² sought to bring women into new roles through schools, prayer meetings. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj³ encouraged female education and condemned customs of dowry, polygamy etc. However, the name of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan appeared first in the horizon of Muslim community as a pioneer reformer in the social and cultural sphere. He started his programme of reforming the Muslim society from the town of Aligarh which later became the center of his reformist activities and came to be known as Aligarh Movement in Indian history.

¹ Geraldine Forbes, *The New Cambridge History of India: Women in Modern India*, CUP, New Delhi, 1996, p. 10, For further details on Women Reform Movement by Raja Rammohan Roy, See S.N. Mukherjee, ‘Raja Rammohan Roy and the Status of Women in Bengal in the Nineteenth Century’, *Women in India and Nepal*, ed. Michael Allen and S.N. Mukherjee, Canberra, Australian National University, 1982, p. 165

² The Brahmo Samaj began with a group of Bengali Hindus who wanted to rethink their religious heritage. In 1815 Rammohan Roy assembled his friends for religious discussions and by 1828 they were meeting for weekly services and sermons as the Brahmo Sabha. Debendranath Tagore, author of the Brahma Covenant and a volume of scriptures and the designer of revised rituals, founded the Brahmo religion. When his followers wanted more dramatic action in the areas of caste equality, temperance, and equality for women, the Samaj split and then split again. By the 1870s it was considered a separate religion.

³ In Northern India, Dayananda Sarawasti (1824-83) launched a vigorous campaign against popular Hinduism including the brahmin priesthood, rituals and pilgrimages and customary prohibitions on widow remarriage and female education. Holding the Vedas infallible, he established the first Arya Samaj (Noble Society) in Bombay in 1875. Within a few years, reformers in Delhi, Lahore, and other North Indian cities had set up independent Arya Samajis.

Though the central concern of Aligarh Movement was to provide modern education to the Muslim community of India during 19th century but it also took many other aspects of socio religious cultural and political issues of the community.⁴

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the discourses on Muslim women by Sir Syed and his Associates and to what extent they were concerned to provide traditional and modern education to Muslim women in 19th century. This chapter also focuses the contribution Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his Associates for the development of modern education to the Muslim women through the platform of Aligarh Movement in 20th century. An attempt is made to study the women discourses and his revolutionary ideas related to the gender issues along with his other women ideologues and to what extent he was differed with Sir Syed views regarding women education have also been focused here.

On the other hand it is alleged that Aligarh Movement did not take up the issues of enhancing the condition of women and also even its founding leader Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did not bother to provide education to the Muslim women.⁵ There might be some difficulties with Sir Syed, when he took up the significant task of uplifting his community for which he felt the provision of education was of paramount importance. The issue of women's education could arouse the Muslim religious sentiments and create unnecessary controversies in turn disturbing Sir Syed's programme and shattering his dream of converting his community into a progressive educated community. It is interesting to note that wide range discourses on women issues were also discussed by Sir Syed and his Associates in 20th century. The basic issue of these discourses was to provide traditional and modern education to the women folk of the Muslim community to enhance their position in the society.

⁴ See for details Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics, from Sir Sayyid to the Present Day*, New Delhi, 2002

⁵ Farhat Hassan, Muslim: Quest for Identity, in Zubeidha Mustafa, *The South Asian Century (1900-1999)* Ed. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001.

Some of the followers of Sir Syed hold the opinion that Sir Syed's thinking on gender issues was strictly traditional (*kadamparasti*) and adhered to customs (*rivajparsti*).⁶ But after going through the writings and speeches of Sir Syed and other leaders of Aligarh movement over the discourses on women, it seems that women became a focal point of their reform movement. Progressive approach was taken up to enhance their social status of Muslim Women not only by Sir Syed by his followers in Colonial India. We find a number of instances in the writings of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wherein women issues were focused greatly and thus it unfolds Sir Syed's positive approach towards their development. His encounter with the educational set up of England during his visit in 1869 A.D inspired him a lot. He expressed his astonishment where he saw the system of education prevalent there for the women of that country, and had the desire to provide the same kind of education for the women of his community in India⁷. His meeting with an English women namely Miss Marry Carpenter⁸ on Steamer "Baroda" on his way to London reflect positive attitude towards women education as he was much impressed by the philanthropic works of Miss Marry Carpenter for the female education in India . Sir Syed writes:

"Miss Carpenter who is a famous lady to whom I met on my way to London and who worked for the betterment of the Indian women in the field of education in Calcutta and Bombay... we had talk on the issues of education for women... and for education of masses..."⁹

Therefore Sir Syed was not against the education of women as it reflected from his above conversation with Mary Carpenter. He further writes in her diary on her request about his perception on female education. To quote:

⁶ Khan Bahadur (ed.). "Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah", *Swaneh-i-Umari-i-Abdullah Begum* (Autobiography of Abdullah Begum), 2nd ed. (Delhi, Kohinoor Press, Urdu Bazar, 1954), p. 16. Mohammad Sirajuddin ed. *Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan Bahadur Ke Lekharon ka Majma*, Lahore. Islamiya Press. 1890, pp. 178-181

⁷ AIG, 21 May, 1869.

⁸ Miss Mary Carpenter (1877-1907) was born in Ekstor in England was a social worker and educationist. She established a school in Bristol for poor children. She took part immensely to raise the standard of the orphan children. She also opened many schools for girls in Bristol and she visited India four times. She published her work in 1846, *Our Convicts*. Her work "The Last Days of Rammohan Roy" also published in 1866 and the other work "Six Months in India" got published in 1868.

⁹ AIG, 21 May, 1869.

“Since I heard of Miss Marry Carpenter’s benevolent and philanthropic intension respecting female education in India, I was extremely anxious to form acquaintance with that noble lady and I must consider it a providential boon that I was fortunate enough to have the pleasure of meeting her on board the steamer ‘Baroda’ on my way to London... bettering the moral condition of women is in itself the proof of the benevolent intensions and noble designs of Miss Carpenter... it is very noble of Miss Carpenter that she has taken great pains in educating her Indian sisters and it is my hearty prayer that every success will attend her noble exertions...”.¹⁰

Therefore Sir Syed acknowledged the works of Miss Marry Carpenter and praised her endeavors, for the cause of female education in India. Sir Syed also wanted to provide female education to his country women. He narrates his experiences of England visit where he saw the abilities of women of that country due to the kind of education which they had been provided. He pleasantly mentioned about an English women under whose supervision a work shop was placed. He praised her ability to deal the work assigned to her. He writes:

“This workshop is under the supervision of a lady and the machineries which are available in this workshop and the works which assigned to her she did to her capacity in this workshop”.¹¹

After his visit to the collegiate *school of Northern* London which was famous for imparting education to females. The College administration had an immense influence on the mind of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and inspired by it, he writes:

“I was eagerly waiting since long time to see and to inspect the collegiates of girls in this country and the way they provided education to the girls... it is my desire to see all of them and later to inform the same for my countrymen”.¹²

Sir Syed was very much impressed by the educational system of England where special arrangement was made for the education of masses. Sir Syed also narrates the story of his land lady Mrs Elan Valt who was curious to read books while in illness. It had a lasting impact on Sir Syed’s mind. In this way Sir

¹⁰. Ibid.

¹¹. *Aligarh Institute Gazette* (Hereafter AIG), 11 March 1870 also see Asghar Abbas, *Safarnama*, op.cit.

¹². AIG, 1st April, 1870.

Syed was not opposed to the education of women but he wanted them to educate in their own language. And he considered the improvement of the education of women, as necessary for them but he did not prefer school education for them. Even his discourses on women includes his concerns for the rights of women in a number of treatises and articles published in his self-founded Journal *Tehzibul Akhlaq*, Sir Syed sought to highlight the legal rights of Muslim women. *Inter Alia* he criticized women for lack of common sense and exercise of rational faculties. He claimed that gross ignorance and respect for baseless customs and traditions lay at the root of their irrational behaviour. Additionally, he wrote powerful reformatory treatises in advocacy of widow remarriage which he considered an issue of great importance. He sought to highlight the serious social implications which could have arisen due to the neglect of this social problem. He took Swami Dayanand Sarawati (1824-83) to task that he should have taken up this perilous societal problem rather than preaching about theism¹³ As Sir Syed faced stiff opposition from his co-religionist in his attempt to introduce western education among the boys, seems to have made him more apprehensive and cautious and did not encourage him to provide such avenues to the women, alas, the conservative elements of the society should react and revolt against him. Besides, he believed that unlike the west, in India the time was not yet ripe to found modern schools for girls.¹⁴

The discourses on women in Aligarh Movement became significant for the first time when debates were mooted out for the school education to the Muslim women through the platform of All India Muslim Educational Conference, an educational body founded by Sir Syed in 1886 in its third session which was held at Lahore in 1888 where a significant and a historical resolution was passed for the establishment of a girls school for Muslim

¹³ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Auranton ke huquq, idem "Hindustan mai Auratun ke halat," idem "Bewa Auratun ka nikah na karne mai kya fasad hai," Idem "Bewa auratun ke nikah na karne ka natija," idem "Pardah", in Maulana Ismail Panipati, ed. *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*, Nayab rasail wa mazamin, urdu ka kalasiki adab, "majlis-i-taraqqi-i-adab. (Lahore 1962). Vol. V. p. 198-99, 200-08, 186-87

¹⁴ *Mujmma Lectures*, op.cit., pp. 266-69.

community. The proposal was put by Shaikh Khairuddin and seconded by Khalifa Immamuddin- District Inspector Schools. The resolution reads as¹⁵:

“The Muhammadan Education Conference unanimously agrees to the proposal that Muslims should establish schools for the education of Muslim girls. These schools should be in accordance with Islam and the ways of the Sharif sections of the Muslims”.

The proposal was of its first kind in history as it brought a revolutionary change in the traditional thoughts of Muslim community during 19th century. A pioneer step was initiated by Shaikh Khairuddin who brought change in the outlook of his co-religionists regarding the education of women. He gave a thought provoking speech and wished to convince the members of his community about the education of women. As he said:

“Honorable President....if we want to know the real picture of any civilization, we must look at the status of women of that civilization.....those who are aware of the condition of Europe they must be knowing the educational status of the women of that country. They are not far behind from the men of that country in terms of educational qualification.....they are doctors, lawyers, and barristers by profession...”¹⁶

With this above mentioned speech Shaikh Khairuddin proposed his view point to establish a girl's school. The proposal received appreciations from the other leaders of the community and it was seconded by Khalifa Immamuddin who also put forward his views in favour of the same. To quote Khalifa Immamuddin:

“Honorable President and gentleman.....I strongly favoured the resolution of Shaikh Khairuddin, I will not say much about itif you (people) want to spread the education for the women of our community, it would automatically help in spreading the education for the male members of our community. Here I mean to say that such type of education may be given to the women folk that would lead them to the proper understanding of Islam..... they should also learn the

¹⁵ Proceedings of All India Muslim Education Conference 1888, Lahore Session.

¹⁶ The Speech of Shaikh Khairuddin regarding the proposal of establishing girls school see. For details, *Ibid*

essential of home management through the kind of education which they would receive.¹⁷

The proposal was unique in the sense that it strongly advocated the message of uplifting women through the modern education. Sir Syed was the same product of the 19th century traditional society who carefully listened to the arguments of Shaikh Khairuddin and Immamuddin. Finally he stood against the motion and rejected the ideas that had been presented and emphasized on the traditional mode of education for the women. To quote Sir Syed:

”عورت کی تعلیم کی نسبت میرے وہی خیالات ہیں جو ہمارے قدیم بزرگوں کے تھے۔ جو جدید انتظام عورتوں کی تعلیم کا اس زمانے میں کیا جاتا ہے فواد وہ گورنمنٹ کا ہو خواہ اس کا انتظام کوئی مسلمان یا کوئی انجمن اسلامی کرے اس کو میں پسند نہیں کر سکتا۔ عورتوں کی تعلیم کے لیے مدرسوں کا قائم کرنا اور یورپ کے زمانہ مدرسوں کی تقلید کرنا ہندوستان کے موجودہ حالات کے کسی طرح مناسب نہیں ہے۔“

”I have the same opinion towards the education of women, as our elders had. If the new way of education as is being arranged for the women today by the Government or by Muslims or any other Islamic organization is no more acceptable to me. To establish school for the education of women and in this respect to imitate the girls' schools and colleges of Europe is not suitable in the present condition of India.”

Thus Sir Syed was not opposed to women's education in principal but only to their education through the schools. He preferred the education of boys at Aligarh instead of girls and believed in the principal of down filtration theory to educate the women folk. He cautioned the Government that any endeavour on the part of officials to introduce female education would prove “complete failure” and probably produce “mischievous results and waste of money”. To Sir Syed the best way to educate was through the education of the men for he hoped that “the enlightened fathers, brothers and husbands would naturally be most anxious to educate their female relations”.

¹⁷

The Speech of Khalifa Immamuddin regarding the proposal of establishing girls school see. For details. *Ibid.*

His testimony before the Education Commission of 1882 on the question of female education also reflected the same view point. As he said in the cross examination before the Education Commission;

”عورتوں کی تعلیم کا معاملہ اس فلاسفر کے سوال سے نہایت مشابہ ہے جس نے پوچھا تھا کہ پہلے مرغی پیدا ہوئی یا انڈا۔ جن شخصوں کی یہ رائے ہے کہ مردوں کی تعلیم سے پہلے عورتوں کی تعلیم ہونی چاہیے وہ غلطی پر ہیں۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ مسلمان عورتوں کی پوری تعلیم اس وقت تک نہ ہوئی جب تک کہ اس قوم کے اکثر مرد اپورے تعلیم یافتہ نہ ہو جائے گے۔ اگر ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کی سوشل حالات پر غور کیا جائے تو اس وقت تک جو حالات مسلمانوں عورتوں کی ہے وہ میری رائے میں خانگی خوشی کے واسطے کافی ہے۔“

”The matter of women education much resembles the question of oriental philosophers who asked whether the egg or the hen were first created. Those who hold that women should be educated and civilized prior to the men are greatly mistaken. The fact is that no satisfactory education can be provided to the Muslim females until a large number of Muslim males received a sound education. The present state of education among Muslim females is in my opinion, enough for domestic happiness considering the present social, and economic condition of the life of the Muslims of India.“¹⁸

In his view any thoughts of schools education for women was not only premature but might arouse opposition or at the very least divert resources away from his efforts at Aligarh to educate men. He also observed that there was no Muslim house without the governess (*ustani*) who taught the girls, and a sort of indigenous education of moderate degree prevailed among the girls and they studied religious and moral books in Urdu, Persian and Arabic¹⁹. Though he considered the improvement of education among the females, and he delivered speeches about the necessity of the education of the Muslim women. To quote Sir Syed's speech of 1884 which he delivered in Gurdaspur.

میں اپنی قوم کی خاتونوں کی تعلیم سے بے پروا نہیں ہوں۔ میں دل سے ان کی ترقی کا فوہا ہوں۔ مجھ کو جہاں تک مخالفت ہے اس طریقہ تعلیم سے جن کو اختیار کرنے پر اس زمانہ کے کوتاہ اندیش مائل ہیں۔“

”I am not unaware about the education of the women of our country; I whole heartedly have the desire to see the improvement in the position of women. The opposition which I have against the

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Sir Syed's cross examination by Syed Mahmud in connection with the evidence taken before the members of Indian Education Commission 1882, NWPEC Report, p. 300

19

Sir Syed's cross examination, op.cit., p. 299

ways (schools for girls) to which our community is willing to adopt to educate them.²⁰

Though the resolution of 1888 resolution did not bring the satisfactory change in the mind-set of the leaders of the community in respect to providing and establishing school to the education for the women, and it also received stiff opposition from Sir Syed himself. Besides, many other leaders from Aligarh fraternity came forward in favour of providing education to women and spoke about its necessities for the development of women folk. In the Aligarh session of All India Muslim Educational Conference 1891, once again resolution was passed to provide education for the women of Muslim community. The resolution reads as follows:

“The Conference feels that according to the conditions prevailing. Muslim should work for the education of women side by side with men, because the advancement of the community depends on this. The education should be such that it advances the religious, literary and cultural life of women, so that with their education, the future generation would stand to gain”.²¹

All these debates are centered on the issue of imparting education to the women. But Sir Syed's perception of female education was not totally against it and he knew the significance of women education

To conclude we can say that the Muslim community was not far behind from the other communities in relation to the upliftment of the women during 19th century. Under the able leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, many intellectuals, associates and modern reformers came forward not to only raise the issue of women's rights but also to take up the cause of providing modern education to them. Thus Aligarh Movement served in the best way to carry forward the thought of Sir Syed and his associates who later took up the issue of women's education and women's rights in their socio, cultural, and educational programme of reforming the Muslim society. In the beginning of the 20th century more concrete and practical steps were taken by Shaikh

²⁰ The speech of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan at Gurudaspur 1884, jawab address khatoon-e-punjab, Gurudaspur January 1884 for details Sayyid Iqbal Ali ed. *Safarnama-e- Punjab*,

²¹ Resolution No. 17 from the Third Annual Meeting of the Mohammdan Educational Conference, Lahore, 1888,

Muhammad Abdullah who was the true product of the Aligarh Movement, his aims and aspirations were same as his elders and who fulfilled the unfinished task of providing modern education to the Muslim female in the 20th century.

(B) Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and His Contribution for Muslim Women education in 20th Century

The contribution of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, the founder of the Women's College of Aligarh Muslim University for the development of modern and traditional learning among the Muslim women was a remarkable step and indeed it is a unique phenomenon in the annals of Muslim history in 20th century India. He was among those conscious promoters of change who chose to become publicist and activist for the cause of modern education for Muslim women. As a pioneering figure, he made the subject of women a central topic in his programme of socio-cultural reform. The central concern of his reformist agenda was provisions of higher education for the Muslim women. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was not only confined himself to provide formal education to Muslim women but his greater concern was also on the women's rights. He was a man of action and to realize his dreams into practical reality he established a tiny Girls School at Aligarh in 1906 which later became Women's College and further it was attached to the Aligarh Muslim University.

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was as true product of Aligarh Movement and thus his aims and aspirations were those as espoused and propagated by the luminaries of the movement. In his own life he sought to achieve the same high goals as were set by pioneer reformers – formal education of Muslim women – which he thought was an unfulfilled aspect of the historic Aligarh movement.

(1) Biographical Sketch of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah the visionary philanthropist, lawyer and educationist was a Kashmiri Brahmin, born as Thakur Das on June 21, 1874 at *Poonch* district of Jammu and Kashmir. His father was Mehta Gurmukh Singh. He received his early education at a *Maktab* in *Poonch* (*Jammu and Kashmir*

State) and there he got the attention of Hakim Nuruddin, court Physician to the Maharaja of Kashmir, where he came to treat a member of the royal family. The Hakim offered to take back Thakur Das to Jammu and to train him in the Unani medicine by assuring his future livelihood, and Thakur Das's family agreed to that. Under the guidance of Hakim Nuruddin he converted to the *Ahmediya* sect and took the name Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah. Hakim helped him for his secondary education and he matriculated from Lahore in 1891 and later came to Aligarh to receive higher education. He acquired degree in LL.B and became the leading advocate of the Civil Court, also became was the President of the *Bar Association*, Aligarh. At Aligarh Shaikh Abhullah became a Sunni Muslim and also became independent from his patron as he was no more a follower of *Ahmedia* sect to which his patron had converted him earlier.²² Shaikh Abhullah was a Kashmiri Brahman, a high caste born and Persian knowing person he was easily adopted in the *Ashraf* culture of Aligarh community and he got his real substitute family at Aligarh College. He became a member of the *Duty Society*, founded by his fellow students, Sahabzada Aftab Ahmed Khan²³, who represented a select group of Aligarh undergraduates. The Society helped in raising money for the College also embodied the ideas of social services and community leadership which was dear to Sir Syed.²⁴ The brotherhood of Aligarh students and alumni provided Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah with a network of friends, allies and persons, the support system normally provided by one's extended kin and thus Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah fully merged in the Aligarh's College family. Upon taking his Law degree, he remained in Aligarh and became active in *Old Boys Association* and

²² Munshi Shamsur Rahman, *Hayat-i-Abdullah*. Aligarh: Female Education Association, pp. 11-26, 1984. Also see Muhammad Din Fauq, *Tarikh-e-Aqwam-e-Poonch*, Sriangar and Lahore: Zafar Bradaran, n.d., p. 677-683.

²³ Aftab Ahmed Khan (1867-1930) – He was an alumni of the M.A.O. who was admitted to the M.A.O. college in 1878; joined Christ's College, Cambridge and entered Inner Temple London for Bar at Law, 1894; Trustee MAO College, member of almost every committee; a very prominent educationist and administrator, member of Council of India of the Secretary of the State, 1917; represented Indian Muslims at the Paris Conference along with Agha Khan and Abdullah Yusuf Ali. He was the Vice Chancellor of AMU in 1924-25.

²⁴ Lelyveld, David "Three Aligarh Student: Aftab Ahmed Khan, Ziauddin Ahmed and Muhammad Ali", *Modern Asian Studies*, 9 (1975): 277-240.

the *Muhammadan Educational Conference*.²⁵ The Shaikh a convert was accepted by his peers and elders in their society and thus he became an active member of the Aligarh community and played a significant role in Aligarh Movement.²⁶

(2) Movement for Modern education for Muslim Women

It is the well-known fact that, the movement for imparting modern education to the Muslim women began much later than the similar movements aimed to educate the women belonging to other communities. For example the pioneering efforts for women's education given impetus by Jyotiba Phule and his wife Savetri Bai and later they laid the foundation of a school for lower caste women in Pune in 1848.²⁷ It was a school first of its kind established to educate the women of lower caste. In Bombay Presidency, Parsi communities were ahead in educating women of their community and under the leadership of Cursetjee Nurserwanjee Cama and Sir Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy, they founded Bombay's earliest girl's School and later on D.K. Karve established the first Women's University in Bombay in 1896. In upper caste Hindu families of Maharashtra who used to taught their daughters, sisters and wives at home to expose them to the outside world and even they used to give instruction to them in sacred text, as we had an example of Ananta Shastri, a Brahmin who educated his daughter in the sacred Sanstrit texts. Later the learned Brahmins of Calcutta gave her the letters of Pandita and Saraswati.²⁸ In Delhi serious efforts were made by the various denominations of missionaries to impart English learning to girls. The *Victoria Boarding School* for Christian girls was established in 1876 with the efforts of some philanthropists of Delhi and later

²⁵ . To provide educational opportunity to the Muslim masses Sir Syed established the All India Muslim Conference in 1886 – see for details, Akhtarul Wasey, *Education of Indian Muslims: A Study of the All India Muslim Educational Conference*, Delhi, Press Asia International, 1977.

²⁶ Minault, Gail, *Secluded Scholars, Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India*, OUP, Delhi, 1998, p. 230.

²⁷ Dhananay Keer, *Jotirao Phule : Father of Indian Social Revolution*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1964, p. 23.

²⁸ Meena Bhargava and Kalyani Dutta, *Women Education and Politics: The Women's Movement and Delhi*, Indraprastha College, OUP, Delhi, 2005, p. 15.

Annie Besant established *Inderprastha College* for girls in Delhi in 1904.²⁹ But in Muslim community, Badruddin Tyabji was the first in Bombay to send his daughters to a girl's school, set up by the *Zenana Bible Medical Mission* in 1876.³⁰

But serious and pragmatic efforts to impart modern as well as traditional learning to Muslim women started in the discourses of Aligarh Movement. In this direction practical step was taken by Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah of Aligarh in 20th century. As an Aligarh student, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was in favour of Muslim women's education in the late 19th century as he was part of the current of the opinion to impart education to Muslim female at Aligarh. In 1884, a resolution in favour of female education was voted down in the *Union Club* of Aligarh M.A.O. College but very soon opinion of *Student's Debating Society* was changed and Aligarh students became increasingly concerned to find an educated wife³¹. Debates continued over women education by the students of M.A.O. College in late 19th century. Ghulam-us-Saqlain³² an alumni of Aligarh who published articles in the 1890s favoured education for Muslim women and criticized *purdah* restriction. Another alumnus of Aligarh was Sayyid Sajjad Hyder Hussain who was also in favour of Muslim women education. Ghulam-us-Saqlain and Sayyid Sajjad Hyder had been active in taking parts in debates in Union Club at M.A.O. College when they were students, as they were also eloquent proponents of enlightenment from within Islamic tradition as opposed to Westernization.³³

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was not far behind from these debates among the students of M.A.O. College over the issue of female education and as a student of M.A.O. College, he was very much influenced by Syed Karamat

²⁹ See Ibid., p. 11-17.

³⁰ See Ibid.

³¹ The resolution that was defeated was proposed by Khawaja Sajjad Husain, the son of Altaf Husain Hali, see Lelyveld, *Aligarh's Aligarh's First Generation Muslim Solidarity in British India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978, p. 223.

³² Ghulam us Saqlain belonged to hometown of Meerut, but settled down at Lucknow. He passed his B.A. from Aligarh MAO College, was a lawyer and journalist, associated with Viqarul Mulk; advocated for the formation of Muslim political association

³³ Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, op.cit., p. 231.

Hussain's³⁴ views who favoured to provide education to Muslim women. Syed Karamat Hussain was a Law professor at M.A.O. College and Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was his disciple. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah also impressed by Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain who was a relative of Maulana Hali. He was well educated in the field of Urdu journalism and was the founder of *Ikhwanus Safa* (Brothers of Purity). Ghulam-us-Saqlain was a friend and hostel mate of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and was described by him as "a true supporter of female education".³⁵

Two other prominent figures mentioned as supporters of female education by Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah were Syed Amir Ali³⁶, judge High Court, and Badruddin Tyabji³⁷, judge Bombay High Court.³⁸ Moreover Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah enjoyed the rare privilege of a close interaction with most of the great luminaries of the Aligarh Movement was Sahabzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, the Secretary of *Sir Syed Memorial Fund* and leader of the *Aligarh Old Boy Association*. About him Shaikh mentioned "a true promoter of female education".³⁹ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah also specifically mentioned literary critic and historian Shibli Nomani⁴⁰ who through his moving speeches

³⁴ Saiyyad Karmat Hussain (1854-1917) was an early champion of women's education in North India. He was instrumental in establishing the women's section of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1896, he also established a school for girls in Allahabad as well as the Muslim Girls's College in Lucknow that bears his name. See for details, Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, op.cit.

³⁵ Khan Bahadur (ed.), "Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah", *Swaneh-i-Umari-i-Abdullah Begum* (Autobiography of Abdullah Begum), 2nd ed. (Delhi, Kohinoor Press, Urdu Bazar, 1954), p. 16. (Hereafter SAB).

³⁶ Syed Amir Ali (1849-1928) was born at Chinsura and educated at Hoogly College and England. He practiced law at Calcutta and was elected as fellow of Calcutta University (1874). He founded Central Muhammadan Association (1876) and was its Secretary during 1876-1904. He served as Presidency Magistrate (1871-81) and was a member of the Imperial Legislative council (1883-85) and retired as the High Court Judge (1890-04).

³⁷ Badruddin Taiyabji, Educated at Elphinston College, Bombay and London. He was called to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1882 and president of Indian National Congress in 1887. He founded Anjuman-i-Islam at Bombay.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 16.

³⁹ Gullishan Khan, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah (1874-1965): His contribution to Muslim Female Education, March 2009, vol. 46, NO. 1, *Indica*, 2009, p. 45 (Hereafter Khan *Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah*).

⁴⁰ Shibli Nomani (1857-1914), born at Azamgarh and educated at Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Rampur and Lahore. He served as a Professor of Persian and Arabic at M.A.O. College 1882-1892 and Education Department at Hyderabad (1899-1904). He was a founder member of Nadwatul Ulema at Lucknow.

delivered in his characteristic rhetoric eloquence awakened his compatriots to the need for the improvement in the condition of women.⁴¹ The other Muslim intellectuals of 20th century with whom Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was impressed was Maulvi Zakaullah⁴² (1832-1910) a Delhi born historian and biographer, and novelist and administrator and Maulvi Nazir Ahmed Delhavi⁴³ a great Urdu novelist (1830-1912) who had personal acquaintances with him. Many of the ideas of the above mentioned intellectuals filtered down to Abdullah through their writings. The ideas of poet, writer and biographer of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Khwaja Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914), also exercised a lasting influence on contemporary thinking about the female education. He recollects that the unparalleled poetry of Sham ul Ulama Maulana Hali provided substance to the mission of educating women. The incomparable poetical composition of the poet-philosopher, Hali's *Chup Ki Dad*, composed at the personal request of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah,⁴⁴ which provided an efficient instrument for a revolutionary change in the attitudes of the educated Muslim towards women as did his epic poem, the immortal *Musaddas; Madd-o-Jazr-i-Islam* (The Ebb and Flow of Islam, 1879) affect the entire *weltanschauung* of the Indo-Muslim community. But after the marriage of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah to Wahid Jahan Begum who was having some traditional education provided him stimulation for his plan of educating women and Shaikh

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴² . Moulvi Zakaullah (1832-1910). Zakaullah of Delhi, son of Hafiz Sanaullah, was born in 1832, in a family noted for scholarship and piety. His ancestors brought into India the noble traditions of learning which savoured of Baghdad and Bukhara. In Delhi they enjoyed the privilege of being royal tutors imparting sacred knowledge to the Mughal princes and that position passed on from father to son. Zakaullah got his early education from his grandfather, Maulana Baqaullah and enrolled him as a regular student of Delhi College and got chance to serve at Muir College Allahabad and remained there for 37 years. He came close to Sir Syed and worked for as his Lieutenant and collected funds for his Aligarh movement.

⁴³ . Nazir Ahmed Delhavi (183-1912). He was a younger contemporary of Sir Syed. Born into a family of Islamic scholars in Bijnaur district, he received his early education in Arabic and Persian from his father. Later he went to Delhi with his father and studied under Maulvi Abdul Khaliq. He also received higher education from Delhi College where he studied Arabic, Mathematics through the medium of Urdu. He served as a teacher in Punjab and later as Deputy Inspector of Schools at Allahabad. He also learnt English and later served to the Government of Nizam. He becomes a great urdu novelist.

⁴⁴ Khan, *Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah*, op.cit., p. 46.

Muhammad Abdullah gave his plans a practical shape and devised concrete ways to educate the Muslim women of 20th century.⁴⁵

But before Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah's efforts to start his campaign for educating Muslim women and to provide them school education, in late 19th and early 20th century India we also find some women discourses in the intellectual circles of Aligarh community regarding Muslim women's education. *Aligarh Institute Gazette* published articles on Government policy encouraging female education and in 1867, the establishment of a Muslim Girls School in Bangalore solely by indigenous efforts was highly acclaimed with great pleasure in a write up entitled '*Muhammadian Female Education*' that appeared in *Aligarh Institute Gazette* vol. II, of 1867.⁴⁶ In 1869 and in the subsequent years we find articles in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* on the importance of female education and its spread as the chief means for the general spread of education.⁴⁷ But there are indication of a reversal in Syed Ahmed Khan's thinking with respect to female education for 1880 onwards. An early instance of such an attitude can be found in his answers to the questions put up by the *Indian Education Commission* of 1882.⁴⁸ In his answer he emphasizes that the general idea held that "Muhammadian ladies of respectable families" are ignorant, is wrong. In fact he claimed that a sort of indigenous education of a moderate degree provided among them and they studied religious and moral books in Urdu, Persian and in Arabic. In short, his opinion was that providing modern education to female education is wastage of money and energy. He held that those who thought that women should be 'educated and learned' prior to men were generally mistaken. The fact, he said, was not satisfactory: education should be provided for Muslim women until a large number of Muslim men received the said education.

⁴⁵ David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation op.cit.*, pp. 250-1.

⁴⁶ *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, (hereafter AIG) 1867, vol. II, NO. 40.

⁴⁷ AIG, 1869, No. 45, vol. IV.

⁴⁸ Evidence of Sir Syed to the *Education Commission of 1882* as given in the Appendix to the *Education Commission Report 1884* (Central Provinces), see also AIG, NO.62, vol. XVI.

In spite of such kind of views held by Sir Syed about women's education that did not favour school education for them but with the passage of time there emerged a distinct tendency within the Aligarh Community to impart education and they favoured the ideas of encouraging the spread of education among Muslim women. This tendency became particularly manifest from 1888 onwards. In the third *Mohammadan Annual Conference* held at Lahore in 1888, a resolution was passed to the effect which says:

”محمدان ایجوکیشنل کانگریس اس پر اتفاق کرتی ہے کہ مسلمان لڑکیوں کی تعلیم کے لیے
اہل اسلام زمانہ مکتب جاری کریں جو مذہب اسلام اور طریقہ شرفائے اہل اسلام
کے مطابق اور اس کے منسب ہوں۔“

”The Muhammadan Education Conference unanimously agrees to the proposal that Muslims should establish schools for the education of Muslim girls. These schools should be in accordance with Islam and the ways of the Sharif sections of the Muslims”.

This resolution was particularly opposed by Syed Ahmed, who was strictly opposed to the establishment of school for women.⁴⁹ In his speech, he argued that the teaching of religion and morals to girls at home on traditional lines was sufficient and the teachings of secular subjects like History, Geography, Trigonometry and Algebra to women was useless.

It is remarkable that such a resolution was passed in spite of Sir Syed stiff opposition. But the real development in the field of Muslim female education speeded up after the death of Sir Syed. Though Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and a number of his close associates like Bashiruddin and Maulana Nazir Ahmed opposed the spread of modern education among Muslim women, it failed to dampen the spirit of the men convinced of the need of schools for Muslim women and they continued to make effort in that direction. As already noticed the first move in the direction was made in the *Mohammedan Education Conference* in 1888 in which a resolution was passed to establish schools for girls.⁵⁰ The resolution was proposed by Shaikh Khairuddin and seconded by Khalifa Imaduddin, District Inspector of Schools. District

⁴⁹ Cited from Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholar*, op.cit., p. 191.
⁵⁰ Ibid.

Muzaffarnagar. During the year 1889 and 1890, nothing else was done for Muslim women's education and it seems that the resolution which was drawn up in 1888 was not acted upon as there is no mention of the opening of any new school in the reports of the *Educational Conference*. Again in 1891, a resolution was proposed by Maulvi Karamat Hussain and was seconded by Ghulam-us-Saqlain. The resolution reads as follows:

“The Conference feels that according to the conditions prevailing, Muslim should work for the education of women side by side with men because the advancement of the community depends on this. The education should be such that it advances their religious, literary and cultural life of women, so that with their education, the future generation would stand to gain”.⁵¹

Gulam-us-Saqlain and Syed Karamat Hussain proposed the resolution to provide education to Muslim women, and thus they brought intense debate over the same issue. To quote the speech of Gulam-us-Saqlain:

حضراتِ قومی اصلاح کا جو کام ہمارے سامنے ہے وہ ایک اہم کام ہے..... اس وقت عورتوں کی تعلیم کو وہ چیز قرار دیا گیا ہے جس کے بغیر قوم کی ترقی اور اصلاح مشکل ہے..... جس خرابی کی وجہ سے آپ عورتوں کو تعلیم سے بچانا چاہتے ہیں اسی خرابی کے سبب سے ہم ان کو تعلیم دینا چاہتے ہیں۔

“Gentleman, the service of community is an essential duty of every member of our society.....today the foremost and the important issue is to impart the education to the Muslim women because without their education the prosperity and the improvement of the nation is impossible....if you are not ready to provide education to the women just because of the wrong perception of that women, would spoil their character after acquiring it. For the perception of which you do not want to give education to the women as it will ruin them, for the same perception we want to give education to them for their development.

⁵¹

Resolution No. 17 from the Third Annual Meeting of the Mohammadan Educational Conference, Lahore, 1888, quoted in the Proceeding of the 19th Annual Session, Aligarh December 1905. See Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, op.cit.

The view point of Gulam-us-Saqlain was approved and seconded by Syed Karamat Hussain⁵² who strongly favoured the notion of providing education to women. To quote Karamat Hussain:

میرے معزز اور لائق دوست نے نہایت مشرح تقریر عورتوں کی تعلیم کے متعلق فرمائی..... میں اس کی تائید کرتا ہوں..... قوم کو کونسا طریقہ مناسب ہوگا۔ (عورتوں کے تعلیم)..... کہا جاتا ہے کی عورتوں کو تعلیم دیا جائے تو خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ پردہ توڑ دیا جائے۔ میں اس تعلیم کا حامی ہو جس میں پردہ کا پورا لحاظ رہے اور جس میں رسم و رواج اور طریقہ جو جاری ہے پورے قائم رہے۔

“My dear and able friend Gulam-us-Saqlain had nicely addressed his speech in favour of women education to which I support strongly.....(which method will the Muslim community favour for the education of Muslim women.....) it is said education to women means breaking of the *pardah*. I support that system of education that will respect *pardah*, customs and traditions and the rules and regulations that had been going on since time immemorial in the society.”⁵³

Therefore Syed Karamat Hussain supported in providing education to the women through school based system in which all existing norms of the society, like strict *pardah* could be also taken into consideration.

On the other hand, Maulvi Bashir-ud-din of Etawah strongly opposed the ideas of Sayyid Karamat Hussain. He preferred the old pattern of education which comprises of traditional learning like providing religious instruction in *Quran* and *Hadith*, moral lessons etc. should be given to the women. He extended his views that women should be given religious instructions and they should learn *Quran* by heart.⁵⁴ Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din was joined by Maulvi Mohammad Ishaq

⁵² Sayyid Karamat Hussain (1854-1917) was an early champion of women's education in North India. He was instrumental in establishing the women's section of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1896, he also established a school for girls in Allahabad as well as the Muslim Girls's College in Lucknow that bears his name. See for details, Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, op.cit.

⁵³ Speech of Sayyid Karamat Hussain, see for details All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, Lahore, 1888,

⁵⁴ Speech of Maulvi Bashir ud Din, see for details All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, Lahore, 1888,

who first supported that child education is more important than the women education.⁵⁵

Debate over the question of women education continued till the last decade of 19th century and during 1899 session of All India Muslim Educational Conference, a similar proposal was passed for the establishment of girl's school according to the norms of the elite family of the community. The resolution was proposed by Mirza Sujat Ali Baig and seconded by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk. The president of the Conference Syed Amir Ali strongly supported the proposal in his presidential address. To quote Syed Amir Ali:

"I recommend and favour the proposal of the establishment of schools for the women and in this respect I am ready to help the good cause of the community. I consider it the religious duty of mine and those who would stand against it; he could not be an honest man."⁵⁶

It was the period of 1896, in which the decision to establish a *Female Education Section* of the *Muhammadan Educational Conference* was taken and the same was created for the educational advancement of the Muslim women and it became a very significant event in the history of education for Muslim women. The members of the *Female Education Section* were: (1) Aftab Ahmed, (2) Sultan Ahmed Khan, (3) Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, (4) Mohsinul Mulk, (5) Muhammad Bahadur Ali, (6) Muhammad Syed Mumtaz Ahmed. *The Muhammad Educational Conference* when established its women section it resolved to provide modern education to Muslim women and also focused its chief function to found a *Normal School* for Muslim women. To carry out the programmes and the aims of the *Female Education Section* ahead and Syed Mumtaz Ali was appointed its first Secretary but his preoccupations with his publishing ventures: he was unable to pay much attention to establish a *Normal School* in Lahore as it was the original goal of the *Female Education*

⁵⁵ See the Speech of Maulavi Ishaq, Ibid

⁵⁶ See the speech of Syed Amir Ali in the 1899 session All India Muslim Educational Conference

Section which therefore languished. In 1902 therefore, the Secretaryship of the *Female Education Section* was handed over to Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah who was a man of an activist, and was an intellectual with full of youthful enthusiasm and had the ability to get things done. He noted that

“Mohammadan Educational Conference’s Resolution in favour of women’s education was all well and good but little of a practical nature had yet been accomplished. Many *Sharif* gentlemen made arrangements for their own daughters to be educated but efforts to found schools, which would be of greater general benefit were still lacking”.⁵⁷

He vowed to work relentlessly to found a *Normal School* for girls and he asked the Muslim noblemen to contribute immensely for the establishment of *Normal School*.⁵⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his wife also founded a journal *Khatun* in 1904 to get the opinions of the Muslim community about the women education and also to report on educational achievements by and for women. And they started their efforts to establish a school for girls at Aligarh to provide modern education to them.

As the Lahore *Normal School* as professed in 1896 in the *Mohammadan Educational Conference* was never materialized and because of the stiff opposition was given by Mumtaz Ali to Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah’s efforts to establish *Normal School* at Aligarh on the pretext that it is being established so close to M.A.O. College which would spoil the reputation of the College. Therefore, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his wife began to consider the possibility of starting a small school at Aligarh of this kind and for this they needed financial resources and the project of Normal School and Teacher Training classes was clearly out of question because of the non-availability of women educated teacher for this purpose. Therefore Begum Abdullah suggested him that they could start a primary school for the daughters of their neighbours and friends. They could hire a teacher if they could find one and her sister could also instruct the girls. They also thought to make appropriate arrangements for *purdah*, both at school and while transporting the students

⁵⁷ . See, 16th Annual Mohammadan Educational Conference, Delhi, 1902.

⁵⁸ . See, 16th Annual Meeting of the Mohammadan Educational Conference. See Shan Mohammad ed. All India Educational Conference, A.M.U., Aligarh.

from home to School. Begum Abdullah discussed the idea among her friends and as part of this campaign Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah started the Urdu journal *Khatun* in 1904. He did not yet specify Aligarh as the locale for the realization of his plan. There were many obstacles to overcome. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah also needed patronage of both kind, a private or Government for financing to hire a teaching staff, a building and transport. Even more, they needed students to start their plan of school those who were willing to send their daughters to proposed school, and then they would start a primary school for them.⁵⁹

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah approached Sultan Jahan, Begum of Bhopal, who had started a girl's school in her own State. To her, he revealed his intention to start a primary school at Aligarh in spite of the opposition to such a move. With her moral and financial support, he said, much opposition would be silenced. His wife was prepared to supervise the school to assure proper *purdah* arrangements and maternal guidance for the students. The Begum liked the idea and promised a grant of Rs. 100 per month to the Aligarh Girl's School. The Educational Conference in 1904 resolved in favour of starting a School in Aligarh.⁶⁰ In spite of this victory Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah still had much to do in the fund raising and to mobilize the Muslim community's opinion for his plan. In around 1905 a deputation of Aligarh College Boys who favoured Girl's education journeyed to Bombay and collected Rs. 4000 from prosperous Muslims, and they got support from the Muslims of Bombay particularly from Justice Badruddin Tyabjee and other members of his family.⁶¹ Among the most active supporters were Zohra and Atiya Fyzee, and they also helped Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his wife to organize an exhibition of women's crafts at a meeting of Muslim Women to coincidence with 1905 *Muhammadan Educational Conference* in Aligarh. The

⁵⁹ *Khatun* 3, 1 (Jan. 1906): pp. 12-14. *Khatun* was an Urdu monthly, the Journal of the Women's Educational Section of All India Muslim Educational Conference, it was edited by Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah from Aligarh.

⁶⁰ See the Proceedings of All India Muslim Educational Conference, 1904.

⁶¹ See, Shan Mohammad, *All India Muslim Educational Conference*, op.cit.

⁶² *Khatun*, 2, 9 (Sept. 1905), pp. 441-50.

exhibition was a huge success. Zohar and Atiya Fyzee came all the way from Bombay and attended the Conference meeting and where the women delegates passed resolutions praising Abdullah's efforts and favouring the founding of a Girl's School at Aligarh.⁶² In 1905 the *Mohammadan Educational Conference* at Aligarh attended forty women and for the first time *purdah* observing women came from different parts of India had come to meet and to discuss the problems of women education. Though there was much criticism of this meeting of the Women's Section of the Conference. On the other hand, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah with the generous grant of Sultan Jahan and to get the some kind of support from British Government he wrote to the Lieutenant of U. P. Sir James La Touch asking for permission to bring a Deputation to Lucknow to meet him and discuss the matter of Muslim female education and the possibility of a generous grant-in-aid for the same purpose. Though Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was not able to reach with all the members of the Deputation as planned by him but with three members he went to La Touch and he was given assurance and encouraging words from the Governor and he was also given a promise to get a grant if he could start a school.⁶³ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah went back to Aligarh, elated and started looking for the teacher. And with the help of the relatives of his wife in Delhi they knew about a woman who was interested to teach in proposed Abdullah's school. Shaikh Abdullah and his wife went Delhi and interviewed the women who agreed to go Aligarh to teach if she could take her whole family along. They agreed to the terms and conditions and thus they took the women and her family to Aligarh and hired a house in Aligarh town which served both as the school and as living quarters for the women teacher. In this way a milestone was achieved in October 1906, when '*Aligarh Zannan Madarsa*' (Aligarh Girl's School) opened its door in that rented house at Aligarh. Seventeen students were enrolled and teaching started with efforts of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and

⁶² Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Mushadatwa Taasurat* "Observations and Experiences" (was a foreword by Mumtaz Jahan Haider) Jamal Printing Press Delhi, Aligarh, Female Educational Association, Aligarh, 1969), pp. 180-4. (Hereafter MWT).

⁶³ See MWT, op.cit., pp. 227-31.

his wife. The curriculum of Zanana School included, Urdu reading and writing, basic arithmetic, needle work and the reading of the *Quran*. Three closed palanquins (*daulis*) were hired to carry the girls to school and *purdah* was strictly observed school though building itself was walled on all sides so that *purdah* could be properly observed.⁶⁴ With the Government grants and other grants received from Begum of Bhopal, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah managed to shift the school to a place known as *Nanak Raika Bagh*, about a mile and half from Aligarh College. And by the end of 1913 School had a building with hostels and class rooms. And in February 1914 the Begum of Bhopal came to Aligarh for a gala inaugural ceremony for the opening of a new Residential Hall and it was also occasion for a considerably expanded version of the 1905 women meeting of *Female Education section* and thus the All Indian Muslim Women Conference was founded and even resolutions were also passed to encourage the education for Muslim women here.

With the passage of the time the Girl's School became Undergraduate College in 1925 and started Degree classes in 1937, at which point there were some 250 students. A second hostel was built in early 1930s, to accommodate additional students. Teachers Training classes were also offered and later on this College attached to the Aligarh Muslim University.

The achievement of the Girls school was enormous as it produced graduates who after acquiring their degrees in higher education worked for spread of women's education and also started their own schools and some of the products of this school also served as Governess Inspectors and some of them also taught at the College level. Some of the earliest Aligarh Girl Students, including Abdullah's elder daughter, Rasheed Jahan, went on for Medical degree,⁶⁵ and Mumtaz Jahan went to Isabella Thoburn College and received her M.A. from Lucknow University, and Khatun Jahan went to England for M.A. and each served as Principal of Aligarh Girl's College.

⁶⁴ *Khatun*, 3, 10 (October 1906), pp. 481-3.

⁶⁵ Khan Bahadur (ed.), "Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah", *Swaneh-i-Umari-i-Abdullah Begum* (Autobiography of Abdullah Begum), 2nd ed. (Delhi, Kohinoor Press, Urdu Bazar, 1954), p. 16. (Hereafter SAB), p. 90-1.

Thus with efforts of Government grants and private donations and helped received by his associates and his wife, Waheed Jahan Begum, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah able to achieved what he had visualized for women of his Muslim community in 20th century and in this direction he made a great contribution for the education of Muslim women which is a unique phenomenon in the annals of the Muslim education in South Asia.

(3) Women Discourses in the Writings of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was not only confined to provide modern education to Muslim women but his writings reflects a wide range of discourses on the different issues of women concerned and through innumerable essays, pamphlets and articles, apart from his well-known biographical reminiscences⁶⁶, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah articulated his ideas on the women discourses with greater variety of issues, relating to the gender relationship.

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah's expose on women was heavily embedded in the contemporary socio-intellectual milieu. The re-examination of traditionalist conception of women and her rights was part of the reformist agenda of the thinkers associated with the modernizing and westernizing programme of Syed Ahmed Khan, later termed as the Aligarh Movement. The late nineteenth century reformers had already articulated an ideology of social and educational reforms. It was left for the next generation to translate these ideas in practical reality. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah's ideas on status of women in Islam and the gender relations also echoed the views of these social and educational reformers mostly associated with the Aligarh movement.⁶⁷ However, in his autobiographical reminiscences compiled in the post-independence India, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah sought to persuade his readers that providing modern education for Muslim women was uniquely his

⁶⁶ . Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Mushadatwa Taasura r* "Observations and Experiences", Jamal Printing Press Delhi, Aligarh, Female Educational Association, Aligarh, 1969), pp. 180-4. (Hereafter MWT).

⁶⁷ . Gullfisha Khan, Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah (1874-1965) and Muslim Female Education Movement, *Journal of the Institute of Islamic Studies*, A.M.U., Aligarh No. 38, 2009.

contribution.⁶⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah alleged that Syed Ahmed's thinking on this crucial issue was strictly traditional despite his thorough knowledge of Islam. He was overwhelmed with respect for traditions (*qadamatparasti*) and adherence to customs (*riwajparasti*). Syed Ahmed was not in favour of modern education for women and he disapproved the very idea of opening modern western style Colleges for them. Like a conservative Syed Ahmed supported traditional home education (*Zenana Talim*) for women. He was also a firm supporter of *Pardah*.⁶⁹

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah belonged to what the historian Lelyveld called "*Aligarh's First Generation*"⁷⁰. Shaikh was a prolific writer; his contribution to the cause of women is comprehensive and wide ranging. His public career synchronized with the rise and strengthening of the forces of anti-imperialism: nationalism, separatism; and communalization of Indian politics to which he was an eye witness and an active participant.⁷¹

His concern with the women's rights centred on the issue of provisions for formal education but his discourses encompassed other aspects such as the *Purdah* (veiling) or seclusion, polygamy nature of relationship between the spouses and above all the legal rights of Muslim women.

On the issue of modern education for the Muslim women, he believed that formal education of women on modern lines was crucial for socio-economic advancement of the Indian Muslim community. He sought to convince his literate readership that without the light of knowledge and reason, brightening

⁶⁸ Cf. *Mushahidat*, section entitled *Tahrik-i-Talim Niswan*, pp. 198-210.

⁶⁹ To prove his assertion Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah quoted Syed Ahmed's speech delivered at Lahore in 1884 in response to an address presented to him by the women of Punjab. See for details Khan Bahadur (ed.), "Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah", *Swaneh-i-Umari-i-Abdullah Begum* (Autobiography of Abdullah Begum), 2nd ed. (Delhi, Kohinoor Press, Urdu Bazar, 1954). (Hereafter SAB).

For the text of the speech, see, Mohammad Sirajudidn. (ed.) *Honourable Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur ke Lekharon ka Majmua* (Islamiya Press, Lahore, 1890), pp. 178-181.

⁷⁰ David Lelyveld, *Aligarh First Generation*, op.cit.

⁷¹ See, Gulfishan Khan, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah (1874-1965): His contribution to Muslim Female Education, March 2009, vol. 46, NO. 1, *Indica*, 2009, p. 45 (Hereafter, Khan *Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah*).

the minds of almost half of the population of the country, the nation could not progress and emerge into the modern era of science and reason.⁷²

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah stressed the point that women bear the responsibility for the welfare of the family and play crucial roles in the character building of their children. Thus he believed that the major task of education was improvement of character and therefore good education should lead to character building. It should promote social values, of justice, liberty and equity. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah's ideas presented a new vision of ideal Muslim womanhood. He sought to produce a new woman who was literate and educated. Education would grow her to be a better wife, better companion to her husband, and a better home maker and she would be a better mother who would raise her children to be healthy, disciplined and good citizens of India. Thus she would become a role model for other woman.⁷³

In conformity with the reformers of the Aligarh Movement, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah maintained that illiteracy and ignorance among woman was an important factor for the backwardness of Muslims. Muslims denied their women their right to seek knowledge, contrary to the spirits of the Prophetic traditions. For a better future, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah urged to Muslims to have recourse to education, to self-help and self-determination, the keys to individual and natural progress. God has decreed that He does not change the condition of any community (*quam*) until they change themselves. He quoted Quranic verses to support his view point. "*Verily never will Allah change the condition of people until they change what is in themselves*".⁷⁴ The other verses quoted were: "*That man can have nothing but what he strives for*".⁷⁵

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah's discourses also focused on the cultural and technological changes in the West and he suggested ways to meet these

⁷². Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Islam mein Aurat Ka darja*, Aligarh: Khidmat Press, n.d.

⁷³. Gulfishan Khan, *Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah: The Founder Speaks*, Aligarh Muslim Gazette, vol 43 No.12, Dec, 2006

⁷⁴. Holy Quran, (S. 13: 11)

⁷⁵. Holy Quran (S.53: 39)

challenges of the West as he believed that new knowledge was essential to meet the economic and political challenges of the twentieth century. He stressed that Western culture as manifested under British rule, represented an inter-civilization clash. It was therefore a compelling necessity to adjust and accommodate with new forces of social change. Modern educational institutions had become essential to help and adjust with the scientific and technological advancements of the period⁷⁶ which had redefined the very nature of cultural discourse. Western civilization had different concepts of progress. It had changed the very pace of programme. Inventions like, railways, telegraph and dissemination of printing presses had revolutionized the entire level of human action. What was earlier expected to be accomplished in hundreds of years, now with the help of modern techniques could be achieved within years.⁷⁷

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was aware of the European critique of the status of women in Islam. In a review article of an early English feminist writer Lucy Garnet's book, 'The women of Turkey and their Folklore' (1890) published in *Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College Magazine*, he commented upon the British feminist writings apprehensive of legal rights of women granted under the Islamic law and also her observation of *purdah* as practiced in Turkey.⁷⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah noted various developments in favour of women in other countries and appreciated that women were now being educated in other Islamic countries to the benefit of religion and country. In Egypt he noted that women had founded their Associations (*Anjumans*) and a number of journals were edited by them. He frequently cited the example of Turkey to awaken his fellow Muslims to the urgency of educating women. The Turks who until recently were looked down and demarcated as the 'sickman' by European, had succeeded in achieving 100% female literacy. Turkish

⁷⁶ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Appeal banam Musalmanane Hind* (Aligarh Muslim Press, n. d.)

⁷⁷ MWI, op.cit., p. 217

⁷⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Turkey Ki Auratein*, see *Mohammadan Anglo- Oriental College Magazine*, vol. 3, No.3 1st March 1896 (Aligarh Institute Press), pp. 137- 145.

women participated in nation building, equal partners in every walk of life but when he compared them to India; he found the situation in India was quite disappointing. Hardly two out of one hundred women were able to read and write.⁷⁹ Nevertheless Shaikh optimistically looked forward to a day when at least 25% of female literacy would be achieved in India.⁸⁰

On the question of the position of women's right and dignity, he sought the example of Islamic law and he firmly held that Islam gave many rights to women but these have not been realized because Muslims have not followed the teaching of the Prophet to educate their womenfolk. Without education, women would not know their rights granted to them under Islamic law. Therefore, by educating their girls, Muslims would be rendering a great service to their community and to the nation. Further he acted upon his firmly held conviction that in Islam, acquisition of knowledge was an essential for every believing Muslim man and woman and for this he cited many *Hadiths*.

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was also a Co-founder of *Anjuman-e-Khawatin* (*All India Muslim Women's Association*) which was devoted to the cause of education of Indian Muslim women. As it was established under the president ship of Begam of Bhopal, Sultan Jahan Begam (1858-1930), some of the prominent non-Muslim participants were Sarla Devi Chaudhrian founder of "*Bharat Shree Mahamandal*" and other was a niece of poet Tagore, the poetess and nationalist leader, Sarojni Naidu.⁸¹

From this platform of *All India Muslim Women's Association*, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah sought to sensitize the cause of higher education for women⁸² and raised his voice against the Punjab and U.P. Tenancy Acts, which denied Muslim women, a share in agricultural property.⁸³

⁷⁹ . *Appeal Banam Musalmanan Hind*, op.cit., p. 5-6.

⁸⁰ . Ibid., p. 6.

⁸¹ . See Srobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women Reform and Princely Patronage*, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal, London, Routledge, 2007.

⁸² . See *Tahzib un Niswan*, dated 11-18 May, 1929.

⁸³ . Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, "*Wirasat niswan kaamre wa azuba Punjab mein*" (Practice of Female Inheritance in the Punjab), *Tahzib un Niswan*, 8 June 1929, pp. 537-40.

The Association introduced the ideas of women's autonomy and women's formal education across geographic and sectarian boundaries and served as a forum of debate on issues such as the *purdah*, age of marriage, childcare, health, polygamy and others related women's questions.⁸⁴

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah laid great emphasis on the legal rights of Muslim women as enshrined in the Islamic law, being a legal practitioner himself. He sought to highlight that among all the world religions, Islam is unique in its emphasis on acquisition of knowledge and an egalitarian approach (*Masawat*) concerning the rights of women.⁸⁵ It is the first among all the religious systems which treated woman as a legal personality by granting to her right of inheritance and disposal of property.⁸⁶ Women seem to have played no significant role in the ancient civilization of Rome, Iran and Egypt.⁸⁷ Hinduism seems to have had denied even the basic rights to women as seen from the *Manusmriti* (the Law Book of Hinduism) Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah contended that women enjoyed no similar legal rights even in culturally advanced societies of Europe and America. It was only in recent times that laws were passed in favour of women in the West. The British Parliament took the lead in this respect and passed the Married Women's Property Act in 1882. This change in the position of women in the west seems to have occurred under the impact of *Islamic Shariat Laws*. "In this respect the Christians of Europe and America initiated (*taqlid*) Islam".⁸⁸

Nonetheless, he accepted that many Muslims did not follow Quranic writs strictly and excluded female heir from the right of inheritance and it is not followed in western Punjab, Baluchistan, Sindh etc. Even Shaikh also cited the example of Muslim communities of Gujrat and Bombay who followed customs and traditions and refused to grant their daughters a share in the family's

⁸⁴ Khan, *Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah*, op.cit., p. 46.

⁸⁵ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Islam Mein Aurat Ka darza*, op.cit., p. 1-3.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 1-3.

⁸⁷ See MWT, p. 208.

⁸⁸ *Islam mein Aurat ka darza*, op.cit., p. 3.

property. He remonstrated that such an adherence to illegal customs was unIslamic practice and an explicit infringement of the Quranic injunctions.⁸⁹

On the institution of *Purdah* Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah had an open minded attitude, he said:

“My views about *Purdah* underwent a complete change... based upon my understanding of the teachings of the holy Quran; and direct recourse to the teaching of Islam... led me to discard the customary veiling [*rasmipardah*] of India as an innovation (*biddat*)... I put forth arguments against the customary *pardah*. The pages of *Resala Khatoon* had been testimony to my statement”.⁹⁰

He argued that the sort of seclusion proclaimed in India was restrictive as well as excessive. Women were deprived from fresh air and sunshine. Secluding women behind the veil or walls of the *Zenana* was not the *purdah* prescribed in Islam. It was symbolic of social status and prestige of upper classes than of religious identity.⁹¹ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was contrary with Sir Syed’s views on *purdah*. While Sir Syed favoured *purdah* for Muslim women as he thought that women should be confined to the home sphere in order to protect their modesty. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah further argued that Muslim jurists agreed that women could move outside their homes and while going out they could keep their faces and hands exposed. He further says the true spirit of the law of God, *Sharia* lies in the fact that modesty was obligatory on both men and women. Men too, should lower their gaze in presence of women.⁹²

On the issue of polygamy, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah criticized it strongly. He argued:

“The Holy Quran allows polygamy but supports monogamy; but if you have reason to fear that you might not be able to treat them with equal fairness, then marry only one”.

⁸⁹ . Ibid., p. 4.

⁸⁸ . See SAB, p. 16

⁹ . See *TehzibunNiswan*, 5 January 1929, p. 20,21 and 12th January 1929, p. 37-40.

⁹⁰ . See SAB, p. 19.

Sheikh Abdullah delightedly noted the social legislation that was passed in Turkey and which ended polygamy there. And thus he realized immense relief after passing of this social legislation, which indeed polygamy in Turkey.⁹³

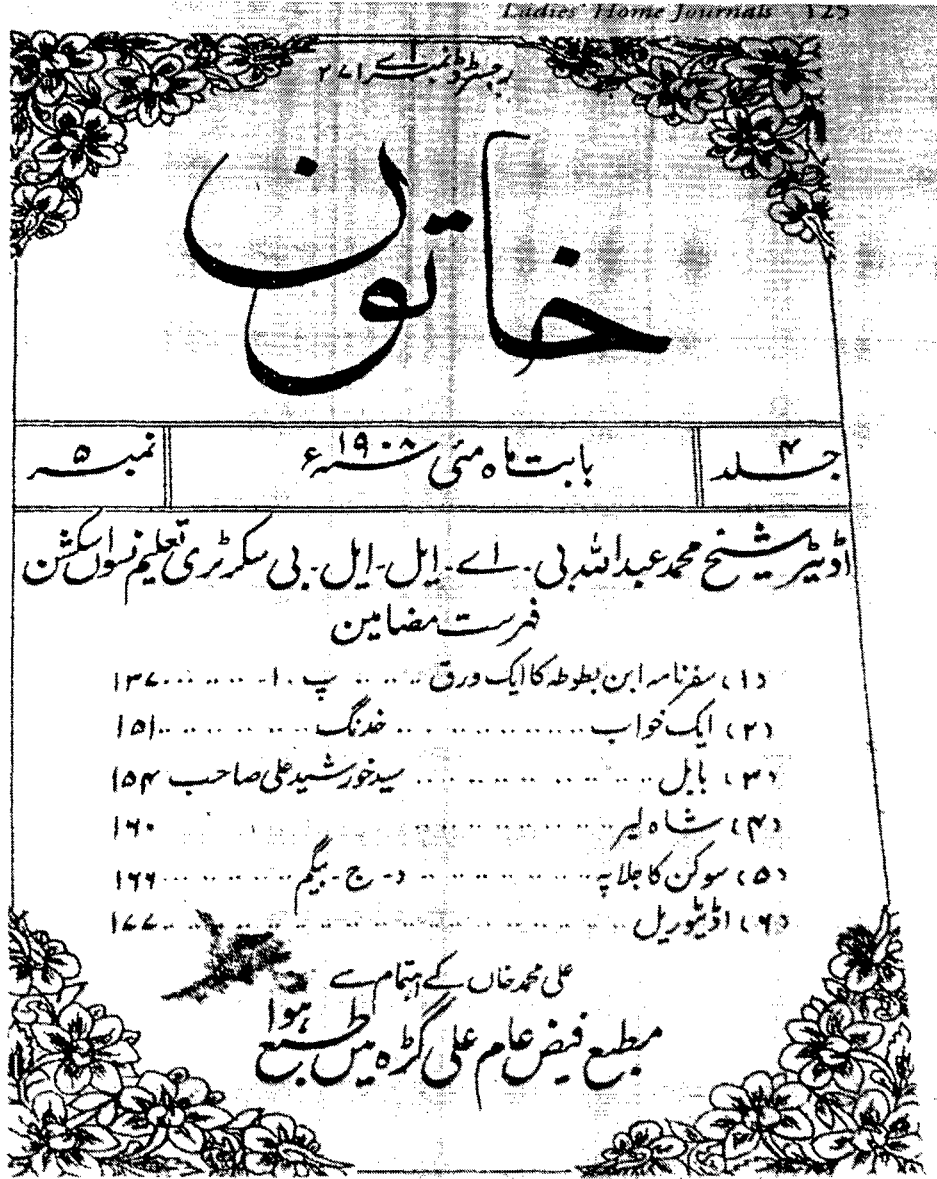
Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah also focused some lights on the role of women in the public sphere and he envisioned the integration of women in the public sphere. After passing of Government of India Act of 1935 which granted women to a limited franchise in the Provincial and Federal Assemblies, Shaikh encouraged women to participate in national politics and he also encouraged to College graduates to contest for seats in representative councils. They should develop their speaking skills to articulate their views on issues of concern for the community in the legislative councils of India he argued. On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the College, Sheikh Abdullah addressed to the students:

“I would like to convey my message to the young ladies and gents of this nation that it is now the time that they should be ready to shoulder the enormous responsibilities of carrying forward the torch of progress and advancement If they would be prepared for self-help, no power, no authority would be able to deprive them from their rights. They would be equal partners in the heritage of their mother land (Mather-e-Hind). They would be entitled to their shares in the property of inheritance, and would be co-sharer in Government services. They would be able to claim their share in all those positions which had been the exclusive prerogatives of men”.⁹⁴

In this way Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah had the vision and mission for the empowerment of women not only in the field of modern education but also in the field of public life. He was a true promoter of the emancipation of women through the vehicle of modern education and he was a great visionary of 20th century Muslim reformer who advocated for the cause of women's development. And thus he gave a new direction to the Aligarh Movement which not only provided educational socio-religious and cultural advancement of the Muslim community of India but it also focused the development of Muslim women in the field of socio-cultural, educational and public life as

⁹³ . See SAB, p. 19.

⁹⁴ . See Khan Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, op.cit., p. 55.



Khatoon

The monthly magazine started by Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah for the cause of Muslim Women Education



Zenana School founded by Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah
Established in 1906, at Aligarh



Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his wife Waheed Jahan Begum
(Pioneer of modern education for Muslim women)

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah propagated and worked hard for their advancement through the weapon of modern education. He was awarded the degree of LL.D. in 1950 by the AMU for his services, and even the Government of India also conferred on him the *Padma Bhushan* in 1964 for his contribution in the field of literature and education.

(4) Curriculum and Co-curricular activities at Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Begum Abdullah's Girls School at Aligarh

The Delhi Session of the *All India Muhammadan Educational Conference* which held in 1902, and the appointment of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah as the *Secretary of Women's Education Section* witnessed a revolutionary change for the emancipation of Muslim women in 20th century. In the Lucknow session of the *Educational Conference* in 1904, a resolution was passed in favour of opening a Girl's school at Aligarh and Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah with his full enthusiasm and firm determination; he devoted his entire energy to this worthy cause. And by the efforts of well-wishers of female education and particularly the cooperation extended by his devoted wife, Wahid Jahan Begum's, effort to the cause of female education, a primary school called the *Aligarh Zanana Madarsa* (Aligarh Girl's School) was opened, in October 1906 with seventeen students on rolls and six months later there were fifty-six students on the rolls. By 1909, the school had approximately a hundred students. In 1914, a Boarding House was formally inaugurated by Sultan Jahan Begum, the queen of princely State of Bhopal, and an ardent supporter of female education. A female teacher named Akhtari was appointed to teach the students the Holy Quran, while instructions in reading and writing in Urdu and teaching of elementary Persian was undertaken by Wahid Jahan Begum and her sister Sikadar Jahan Begum. Over the years the school grew into Women's College of Aligarh Muslim University.⁹⁵

All these development for the causes of Muslim female education was enthusiastically taken ahead by the indefatigable endeavour of Shaikh

⁹⁵ See Gullfishan Khan, *Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah: Founder Speaks*, Aligarh Muslim University Gazette, vol. 43, No. 12, December 2006 (Hereafter Founder Speaks).

Muhammad Abdullah (1874-1965), a pioneer of modern education among Indian Muslim women and his equally dedicated wife Wahid Jahn Begum (1886-1939) in the 20th century India. But the other achievement of this school was its curriculum framework and co-curricular activities which develop in due course of time in Aligarh. When this tiny school was opened in 1906, its curriculum was comprised of Urdu reading and writing, basic Arithmetic, needle work and the reading of the Holy *Quran*. *Purdah* was an important part of the curriculum to maintain the status of *Sharif* culture. To ensure the strict observation of *Purdah* three closed palanquins (*daulas*) were hired to carry the girls to school, thus *purdah* was maintained strictly.⁹⁶

Begum Abdullah (wife of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah) personally used to supervise the students every day. She regarded the students as her own daughters and when she found that some of the poor girls could not bring their own food, she shared her tiffin with them, often going without food herself. She and her sister also helped students in giving instruction to them. With the supervision of Begum Abdullah, *Sharif* families of Aligarh were also impressed and they were contended to send their daughters to school when they saw that *purdah* was properly observed, religious instruction offered and *sharafat* preserved. In months that followed, several *Amen* ceremonies in which students of the school, having completed their study of the *Quran*, gave *Quranic* readings, offered prayers and received blessings, all these religious activities which were part of the curriculum of school were reported in the magazine *Khatun*.⁹⁷ The other co-curricular activities of the school were reflected in the Annual Conference meetings which continued to feature exhibitions of women's handwork prepared by the students of the *Zanana Madarsa*.⁹⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah's efforts to give the shape of school into a boarding school became necessary, because parents did not want their daughters to continue going out to school once they had passed puberty

⁹⁶ Khatun, III, 10 (October 1906), p. 481-83.

⁹⁷ Khatun, VI, 4 (April 1910), pp. 183-186, VI (Sept. 1910), p. 325-27.

⁹⁸ See Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholar*, op.cit., p. 222.

age and became of marriageable age.⁹⁹ As Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his colleagues thought for the starting of a Boarding School because with the boarding arrangements, girls would not have to leave home each day, but could stay at the school, thus ensuring stricter *purdah* even after the dangerous age of puberty.¹⁰⁰ As Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah said:

‘Indeed *purdah* restriction in a boarding facility would be even stricter than at the girl’s home. At home girls are permitted to see few male relatives, even cousins to whom they might be married, whereas at school, the society would be totally female under the watchful eye of Begum Abdullah. The observance of prayers and other religious rituals would be required; there would be playing fields to ensure the health of the girls, and upright personal example of *sharif* women, Begum Abdullah and her sisters would be constantly present before the girls.’¹⁰¹

In November 1911, Lady Porter, wife of acting Lieutenant Governor of U.P. came to Aligarh to lay the corner stone of the Muslim Girls School hostel, and construction began with donation from noble people and also the help received from the British Government and the Muslims. The buildings were completed in late 1913 and in February 1914, the Begam of Bhopal came to Aligarh for a gala inaugural ceremony of the Hostel, and it was attended by Fyzee sisters from Bombay of Justice Badruddin Tayabji’s family, and even Abru Begam, sister of Abul Kalam Azad, Begam Shafi from Lahore and her daughter Begam Shahnawaj and other elite women from Lucknow, Punjab, Bombay and Hyderabad came to meet and witness the celebration of a Boarding School for girls at Aligarh. The meeting was held in an elaborate *Shamiana* set up in the quadrangle of the new girls’ school, and *Purdah* arrangements were stringent. The women arrived from the Aligarh station in curtained carriages to the homes of local *purdah*-observing families.¹⁰²

After opening of the Residential Hall for the Girls in 1914, there were less students enrolled as boarders at Aligarh Girls School but soon it extended

⁹⁹ MWT, op.cit., pp. 234-36.

¹⁰⁰ Gail Minault, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, Begum Abdullah and Sharif Education for Girls at Aligarh in Imteyaz Ahmed (ed.), *Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India*, Delhi: Manohar, 1983, p. 224. (Hereafter Sharif Education)

¹⁰¹ *Khatun*, III, 1 (January 1909), pp. 1-13.

¹⁰² *Khatun*, IX, 2-3 (February-March 1914), pp. 26-32.

to 25 of whom sixteen were boarders. This was the result of the Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Begam Abdullah's constant efforts to gain the confidence of Muslim parents by portraying the girls' school as an extension of the girl's families and their own.

Begam Abdullah was fondly known as "*Ala Bi*" and Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah was called "*Papa Mian*" by the students. The daily routine of the school included early rising, lessons in the morning, more lessons plus study and rest times in the afternoon, time for exercise or games, and the five time daily prayers are strictly followed and every border were asked to follow these learning on traditional lines. In addition to it the regular curriculum of Urdu reading and writing, the reading Quran, the Girls had the classes in embroidery and cooking once or twice a week. Even students were given instructions to learn English for an hour a day and they were also taught to read some Indian history, geography and Islamic theology. But the major focus was on to observe Purdah system which was a part of curriculum and it was strictly followed in Girls school.

Fortress like walls kept all unauthorized persons and curtained carriages transported the students an outings or to the station. Only close relatives could visit the students even the mail was watched. Begam Abdullah had specimens of the hand writing of family members, and she checked the writing every time. Begam Abdullah's supervisory duties included all those of an *Ashraf* women, head of a household, and instruction in house-keeping and laundry arrangements were given under the watchful eyes of Begum Abdullah. Even she used to taste each dish cooked for the girls¹⁰³ and thus under the able guidance of Begum Abdullah curriculum at Aligarh school developed and dealt for the overall development of the personality of girls student.

In this way the curriculum which included, religious, secular subjects, modern education as well as the household learning, including the *Purdah* became an important and an integral part of Muslim culture was maintained in

¹⁰³ . *Khatun*, X, 5 (May, 1914), p. 46-48.

the Girls School at Aligarh strict *purdah* observed as a part of school discipline, besides the girls were given instruction in religious obligation also. *Milad* ceremonies and five time daily prayers were made compulsory to train the girls to fulfil the religious duties and obligation bestowed on all Muslims by Almighty Allah. These things had become an integral part of the hostel life of the girls and even they were carefully instructed in personal hygiene and cleanliness. Therefore curriculum which developed over the years at Aligarh suited to the need of Muslim Ashraf family's daughters.

CHAPTER - VIII

ALIGARH MOVEMENT: IMPACT AND EXPANSION

CHAPTER-VIII

ALIGARH MOVEMENT: IMPACT AND EXPANSION

Aligarh Movement maintained its legacy as it produced a number of Muslim leaders who worked for the betterment of their coreligionists during and after the death of its founder Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Though a number of powerful movements of nineteenth century appeared on the horizon of Indian society but disappeared completely during 20th century. But the Aligarh Movement had its profound impact on the Indian society, particularly on the Muslim society compared to the other powerful but less adaptable movements of 19th century. It influenced a number of other contemporary movements to a great extent that it caused the emergence of other socio-religious movements during 19th century. The impact of Aligarh Movement was not confined to the Northern India only but its expansion could be seen on the other regions of the Indian sub-continent during 20th century.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the impact of Aligarh Movement on the contemporary movements of India. An attempt is also made to investigate the nature of other contemporary movements and to what extent these were different from Aligarh Movement. Attempt is also made to know the impact and expansion of Aligarh Movement on the other regions of the Indian sub- continent during 20th century.

(A) Sir Syed and Akbar Allahabadi

The name of Syed Akbar Husain popularly called as Akbar Allahabadi is well known figure in the vast pantheon of Urdu literature. Akbar like his elder contemporary Maulana Hali¹, became a famous poet not because of his writing

¹ Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914); born in Panipat; family came originally from Heart; traditionally educated; 1856-7, petty post in the Hisar Collectorate; 1857-61, left government service in order to continue to educate himself; 1861-9, companion to Nawab Mustafa Khan

of poetry but due to his sharp and brilliant sarcastic dig on the prevalent issues of the period and degradation of norms and morals in Indian Society. He wrote his poetical verses on topical issues and became a great satirist poet of late 19th and early 20th century of India.

He expressed his ideas on different topical issues of 19th century in a very humorous way and deeply focused on the socio-political condition of India. The satirical verses of Akbar dealt from politics to religion to education and thus engulf a very wide area.

Akbar Allahabadi (1846-1921) was born on 16 November 1846 in the village Barah, Allahabad, in a family of Sayyids. His father, Moulvi Tafazzul Hussain served as a Naib Tehsildar and is said to have been highly educated person. His mother came from a zamindar family of village Jagdishpur, district Gaya (Bihar). Akbar received his early education from his father at home, his mother shifted from village to Allahabad in Mohalla Chauk. Akbar was admitted to the Jamuna Mission School for an English education in 1856, but he abandoned his school education in 1859. However, he continued to study English and read widely. On leaving school, Akbar joined the Railway Engineering Department as a Clerk while in service he passed an examination of Law. Subsequently, he worked as Tehsildar and Munsif and later as a Session-Judge. He retired in 1903 and lived in Allahabad, where he died in September 1921².

He was a great nationalist poet and is widely acknowledged as master of wit and sarcasm in Urdu poetry. He is admired as well as bitterly criticized for

of Jehangirabad, the 'Shefta' of Ghalif's correspondence; the remainder of his life he spent first as a translator in the government book department, Lahore, and then as a teacher in the Delhi Anglo-Arabic school; he was, before all things, a poet and his Musaddas, recited aloud at political and educational conferences, featured on the front page of journals and learnt by most young Muslims, summed up for generations what Muslim revivalism was about.

² Iqbal Hussain "Akbar Allahabadi and National Politics" *Social Scientist*, vol. 16, no. 5, May, 1988, pp. 29-45.

See for details, 'Talib Allahabadi, Akbar Allahabadi, 2nd ed., n.d. Allahabad

his trenchant attacks on western culture and modern education³. His attitude towards western education and culture of 19th century has been extensively surveyed by Khurshidul Islam and Rafal Russel⁴ but here the verses he wrote about Sir Syed and his Aligarh Movement are the subject of analysis. In what context he sees the Aligarh Movement and Sir Syed's approach; and how both Sir Syed and Akbar Allahabadi were different in their views regarding the education for the Muslims of India approach dealing with their view on education for the Muslims of India.

Akbar's views about Sir Syed and his educational movement were quite opposite and became a major target of his attack. He remained a bitter critique of Sir Syed's reformist ideas throughout his life. His hostility was not because of what Mohammad Ali Siddique characterizes as Akbar's "cynicism" and his tendencies to "view the truth through spectacles of his own prejudices."⁵ Akbar's hostility to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan flowed from deeper and more vital source: he did not approved Sir Syed's educational, theological, and political ideas and schemes and believed that Sir Syed had caused incalculable intellectual and spiritual harm to the Indian Muslim community⁶.

The verses or *Kulliyat* of Akbar as composed during 19th and early 20th century were first published by his son, Syed Ishrat Hussain in 1908⁷. Within a year it was reprinted by Munsif Azmat Ali under the title *Kulliyat-i-Akbar*.⁸ Later on an improved edition, in terms of chronological arrangement of *Kulliyat-i-Akbar* was published from Karanchi in 1951. It was divided into various parts. The early verses of Akbar entirely focus on conventional love

³ Nurul Rahman, *Akbar Allahabadi aur Unka Islam*, Delhi, 1964, pp. 1-12; Abdul Majid Daryabadi, *Akbar meri Nazar Mai*; Qamruddin, *Bazm-e -Akbar*, pp. 12-14; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan (1857-1964)*, London, 1964, p. 36

⁴ Ralph Russel and Khurshidul Islam, *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 8, Part 1, 1974, pp. 1-58 (Hereafter cited as *Ralph Russel and Khurshidul Islam*);

⁵ Mohammad Ali Siddiqui, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan aur Jiddat Pasandi*, Karachi, Irtiqua 2002, p.47.

⁶ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, *The Power Politics of Culture: Akbar Allahabadi and the Changing Order of the Things*, Zakir Hussain Memorial Lecture, 2002, issued as a Pamphlet by Zakir Hussain College, New Delhi, n.d.

⁷ *Kulliyat-i-Akbar* 2nd ed., pp. 2-4

⁸ Ibid.

things but after 1870's he drops these themes and increasingly focuses on topical problems of the day and most of his satirical verses centers around Sir Syed and his educational movement.

Though Akbar Allahabadi was a staunch opponent of Sir Syed's reformist ideas and he remained inimical to the modern education and western learning which had been vital concern of the Sir Syed. Though Akbar remained contrary throughout his life to Sir Syed's reform movement and his educational policy but we do have some evidence which shows that Akbar and Sir Syed were having friendly attitude and they also used to respect each other. During the year 1888 when Akbar Allahabadi was promoted as Sub-judge and transferred to Ghazipur, Syed Ahmad Khan wrote him a congratulatory note saying that though he was sorry for Akbar (he addressed him as Munshi Akbar Husain Sahib) to leave Aligarh, yet he was happy for a Muslim to become a Sub-Judge with a long prospect of active service in the Judicial department⁹. Even Akbar was set to have made collection of fund for Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College in 1891¹⁰.

When Sir Syed started his movement for social reforms among the Muslims of India through his influential periodical called "*Tehzibul Akhlaq*" (the refinement of manners'), Akbar wrote in a sarcastic way about his periodical and he considered that Sir Syed's periodical as its name suggest could not reflect the light which shows the path of reform but in his sense it ruins the men thousands men. To quote:-

جس روشنی میں لوٹ ہی کی آپ کو سوچئے تہذیب کی میں اس کو تجلی نہ ہوں گا
لاکھوں کو مٹا کر جو ہزاروں کو ابھارے اس کو تو میں دنیا کی ترقی نہ کہوں گا

The light that only lights the path to plunder
I will not call 'refinement's radiance'.
You ruin thousands to promote a hundred:
I'll not call that 'humanity's advance'.¹¹

⁹ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*, vol 1, ed., Mohammad Ismail Panipati, Lahore, Majlis Taraqqi-e-Adab, 1984, p 43

¹⁰ Sir syed Ahmad Khan, *Maktubat-i-Sir Syed*, vol. 1 ed., Mohammad Ismail Panipati, Lahore, Majlis Taraqqi-e-Adab, 1965, p 44

¹¹ Part I, verse no. 53, *Kulliyat-i-Akbar*

The two important issues during Akbar's life time were; what policy should the Indian Muslim should follow in the existing political situation, and how should they maintain their cultural and religious identity amidst the tumultuous forces let loose by the civilization of the West¹² and thus on one occasion, Akbar expressed his fears and the misgivings about what Sir Syed's providing to the students and the type of Aligarh education being imparted to them. And here Akbar directly questions the vision of Sir Syed. And he wrote in his following verse:-

کیا جائے سید تھے حق آگاہ کہاں تک
سمجھ نہ کہ سیدھی ہے مری راہ کہاں تک

I don't know as to how far the Syed was God-knowing!
Perhaps, he could not understand as to what extent his path was straight.¹³

And for all his general approval of Aligarh Education, he feels that there is an emphasis upon material and secular things which obscures to a dangerous extent even greater importance of a strong faith in religion as the only sure guide on life's journey. And he wrote a whole poem on the Aligarh College where much focus was given through the modern education to the importance of material and secular things which Akbar thought suicidal for spoiling the religious faith of the Aligarh students and thus Akbar Allahabadi highlighted his viewpoint in one whole poem in which he wrote about the teaching of M.A.O. College and Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement which provides such kind of knowledge and misleading to the students by not providing religious education.

To quote Akbar Allahabadi –

¹² M Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, pp. 470-76.

¹³ Part I verse 99, *Kuliyat-e-Akbar* as cited from Russel, op.cit., p. 2.

خدا غنی گڑھ کے مدرسے کو تمام امراض سے شفا دے
 لطیف و خوش و منجست و چالاک و صاف و پاکیزہ شاد و خرم
 کمال محنت سے پڑھ رہے ہیں کمال غیرت سے بڑھ رہے ہیں
 برائیت ہے ان میں کا میثاق ایسا کہ آپ اسے چاہتے ہیں جیسا
 فقیر مانگیں تو صاف کہہ دیں کہ تو ہے مضبوط جا کما کھا
 بتوں سے ان کو نہیں لگاوت میسوں کی لیتے نہیں وہ آہٹ
 نظر بھی آئے جو زلف پیچاں تو سمجھیں یہ کوئی پالمیسی ہے
 نکلتے ہیں کمر کے غول بندی بنام تہذیب و درد مندی
 انہیں اسی بات پر یقین ہے کہ بس یہی اصل کار دیں ہے
 مکان کاٹ کے سب یکیں ہیں ابھی انہیں تجربے نہیں ہیں
 دلوں میں ان کے ہے نور ایماں قومی نہیں ہے مگر نگہاں
 فریب دے کر نکالے مطلب سکھائے تحقیر دین و مذہب

نہرے ہوئے ہیں رئیس زادے امیر زادے شریف زادے
 طبیعتوں میں ہے ان کی جوت دلوں میں انکے ہیں نیک ارادے
 سوار مشرق کی راہ میں ہیں تو مغربی راہ میں پیادے
 دکھائے محفل میں قدرتنا جو آپ آئیں تو سر جھکا دے
 قبول فرمائیں آپ دعوت تو اپنا سرمایہ کل کھلا دے
 تمام قوت ہے صرف خواندن نظر کے بھولے ہیں دل کے سادے
 الکترک ایٹم اس کو سمجھیں جو برق و ش کوئی مسترادے
 یہ کہہ کے لیتے ہیں سب سے پندے ہمیں جو تم وہ تمہیں خدا دے
 اسی سے ہوگا فروغ قومی اسی سے چمکیں گے باپ دادے
 خبر نہیں ہے کہ آگے چل کر ہے کیسی منزل ہیں کیسے جادے
 ہوائے منطق ادائے طفلی یہ شمع ایسا نہ ہو بجھا دے
 منادے آخر وضع ملت نمود ذاتی کو گر بڑھا دے

یہی بس اکبر کی التجا ہے جناب باری میں یہ دعا ہے

علوم و حکمت کا درس ان کو پروفیسر دیں سمجھ خدا دے

May God confer on Aligarh's Madrasas a cure for every malady?
 All gentlemen belong to rich and elite's family are studying here.

Refined, and elegant, and smart, and clean, and neat, and radiant,
 Hearts full of good intentions, minds blessed with originality,
 They ride the highways of the East, and plod along the western ways,
 Each one of them, without a doubt, everything you would have him be.

No Indian fair, no English miss, diverts them from their chosen path;
 Their hearts are innocent and pure; their books absorb their energy..
 The lightning of a fair one's smile they take for electricity
 And if they see a curling tress they think it is some policy.

All of them dwell in College, still without experience of life:
 They do not know what lies ahead, nor what should be their destiny.
 The flame of faith burns in their hearts, but those who guard it are not firm.
 And logic's winds may blow it out, or youthful immaturity,
 Ensnaring them, and teaching them to hold religion in contempt

And seeking fame, to bring to nought the ways of their community.
 It is the only Prayer of Akbar to the Almighty,
 May Professors impart them boons of knowledge and God give understanding.

Sir Syed for his acceptance and reliance on western education which he considered as a panacea for the Muslim gentry (*Shurfa*)¹⁴, and Akbar because of this made western education and culture a major target of his attack. But it is interesting to note here that despite Akbar's critical attitude towards modern education and western learning, he sent his son Syed Ishrat Hussain for higher learning to England. It shows his contradictory nature regarding modern education and learning.¹⁵ Akbar was quite adamant in inculcating religious faith in Muslim Students who were receiving modern education. He did not want a situation in which the learning's of Western manners, should enter into the minds of the students and which should cause to restrict the free play of religious feeling of Muslim. He was very conscious to impart the teaching of religious faith to the Muslim students who were acquiring modern and western learning at MAO College of Sir Syed.

To quote Akbar:

سید صاحب سکھا گئے ہیں جو شعور کہتا نہیں تم سے میں کہ ہوا اس سے نفور
سہتوں کو جگا دیا انہوں نے لیکن اللہ کا نام لے کے اٹھنا ہے ضرور

Practice the ways Sir Sayyid's movement taught you,
Nothing in them need give you cause for shame.
He woke you from your sleep; but now remembers,
When you arise, arise in Allah's name.¹⁶

Here Akbar gave instruction to the students and to keep alive their religious faith in a Western College of Sir Syed where western manners are taught.

But during the last phase of his life Akbar Allahabadi became liberal in his attitude and he acknowledged the services of Sir Syed which he rendered for the cause of Muslim community in the field of education and it seems that Akbar became quite less harsh in his later phase of his life and thus a change could be noticed in the thought of Akbar Allahabadi and he appreciated Sir Syed in one of his verse. To quote:

¹⁴. Altaf Husain Hali, *Hayat-i-Javed*, Lahore 1957, pp. 243-44 (Urdu edition).

¹⁵. Ali Imran Usmani, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan aur Akbar Allahabadi, *Tehzibul Akhlaq*, oct. 2006, pp. 82-87

¹⁶. Part I verse No. 463, *Kuliyat-e-Akbar*

سب جانتے ہیں عم سے ہے زندگی روت بے علم ہے اگر تو وہ انسان ہے نہ تمام
 بے علم وہ بے ہنر ہے جو دنیا میں کوئی قوم نیچر کا اقتضا ہے رہے بن کے وہ غلام
 تعلیم اگر نہیں ہے زمانے کے حسب حال پھر کیا امید دولت و آرام و احتیام
 سید کے دل میں نقش ہوا اس خیال کا ذالی بنائے مدرسہ لے کر خدا کا نام
 صدے اٹھائے رنج سے گالیاں سنیں لیکن نہ چھوڑا قوم کے خادم نے اپنا کام
 دھلا دیا زمانہ کو زورِ دل و دماغ بتلادیا کہ کرتے ہیں یوں کرنے والے کام
 نیت جو تھی بخیر تو برکت خدا نے دی
 کالج ہوا درست بصد شام و احتشام

All men know that the life of the spirit depends upon knowledge;
 If anyone is without knowledge, he is an incomplete man.
 It is an inexorable law of nature that the nation which lacks knowledge and
 skills is destined to be the slave of others;
 and if education does not meet the needs of the age
 then all hopes of attaining wealth and comfort and honour are idle.
 This thought was engraved upon Sir Sayyid's consciousness,
 and trusting in God, he laid the foundations of his College.
 He suffered setbacks, and disappointments,
 and the abuse of his opponents,
 but this servant of his nation kept to his task,
 and showed the world what a stout heart and a powerful intellect can do
 showed them what hard work really means.
 And because he worked sincerely God prospered him,
 and a splendid college was built.¹⁷
 But a drastic change came in Akbar's attitude towards Sir Syed and his
 educational reform movement. He wrote the epitaph on Sir Syed's death.

ہماری باتیں ہی باتیں ہیں سید کام کرتا تھا نہ بھلاؤ فرق جو ہے سنے والے کرنیوالے میں
 کہے جو چاہے کوئی میں تو یہ کہتا ہوں اے اکبر خدا بخش بہت سی خوبیاں تھیں مرنیوالے میں

We only talk whereas Sayyid used to work,
 We don't forget as to what difference is between talker and doer.
 Let them say what they like of him; but I say, O Akbar;
 May God grant him peace the deceased possessed many virtues.¹⁸

And thus it is reflected from the above verses of Akbar that he became a great
 admirer of Sir Syed and realized the importance of the time and changed his

¹⁷ . Part I, verse No. 622 from 1 to 7 lines.

¹⁸ . Part I, Verse No. 674, as cited from Russel, op.cit., p. 19.

views on the society and thus favoured the modern education for which Sir Syed worked.

There was no group or type of men among his contemporaries with whom he could identify himself. He ridiculed those who had adopted English ways, on principal, or because of opportunisms but he could not bear the ignorance, the scrupulousness and the arrogance of those who represented traditional religions.¹⁹

Therefore we could see the new development which developed in Akbar's attitude towards Sir Syed's educational mission during the last phase of his life.

(B) Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Jamaluddin Afghani's Pan-Islamism

The Pan-Islamism movement started in West Asian countries by Syed Jamaluddin Afghani²⁰ who was a contemporary to Sir Syed. He was a bitter critic of Sir Syed's pro-British policy. The word, 'Pan Islamism' was first employed in journalistic literature in the early 80's of the nineteenth century to describe the efforts made by the Muslim states to bring about some unity of action in opposition to the Christian powers of Europe.²¹

The political conditions of West Asian countries during 17th and 18th century was quite volatile and imperialistic approach of European countries led the fierce battle and war against the East Asian countries and subjugation of latter, resulted in Pan Islamic ideas. During the second half of 19th century, Russia and other Western powers, pursued their imperialistic designs against Muslims in the Central Asian Europe and North Africa and created a menace to their security. There were certain forces, working against the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. An insurrection broke out in 1875 in Herzegovina, a province of West Serbia where the Christian population was heavily taxed by Turkey and had almost become bankrupt and had suffered from

¹⁹ M Mujeeb, *Indian Muslim*, op. cit., p. 476

²⁰ Born in the village of Asadabad, a dependency of Kabul, in the year 1838 and died in 1897.

²¹ See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Fourteenth ed. (New York, 1929), p. 185

maladministration and gross misrule. Religious and racial hatred between the Christian and Turks fanned the fire. The Balkan people were also incited against their ruler, and Balkan nationalism was another menace to Turkey, propaganda in the Press and secret societies continued to influence the people to rise against the Turks. Events also occurred in Constantinople which further accentuated the national sentiments in the Christian subjects of Turkey. These rapid changes in Constantinople were led the intervention of Christian powers which intervened on the ground of atrocities being influenced upon their co-religionists. Russians also joined hands against Turks. Turks offended resistance under Osman Pasha with great heroism but failed. On the other hand Egypt was involved in their national movement in 1887 due to the intervention of foreign powers in Egypt but Egypt was occupied in 1882 and the revolt of Arabi Pasha failed. In Sudan, the Mehdi movement rose against the occupation of Egypt by British power.

Thus all the Muslim States were passing under Christian rule and Muhammadans in these countries feared lest they might permanently be subjected to the western Imperialism. They realized that the disintegration of their world by Europe was principally due to their deviation from faith, and they felt that the future of Muslims all over the world could be secured only through allegiance to God and His representative, the caliph. It was under these circumstances that the Jamaluddin Afghani first raised the banner of Pan Islamism in the last quarter of the 19th century.²²

Jamaluddin Afghani was a man of prodigious learning extra ordinary character, and striking eloquence, his message for the unification of the Muslim world exercised tremendous influence on Muhammadan in all countries. He had extensively toured India, America, England, Germany, France and Russia and all his actions were directed towards the inclusion of all the Muhammadan

²² . Shan Mohammad, *Political Biography*, op.cit., pp. 133-34.

in all parts of the world into one Islamic empire under the protection of one caliph.²³

He also founded at Mecca a Pan Islamic society, *Ummul Qura* which aimed at creating a *Khalifa* for the whole Muslim world either at Constantinople or Kufa.²⁴

Jamaluddin Afghani wanted through his Pan Islamic movement, to free Muslims from atrocities and oppression from the British power and he had an anti-British attitude; while in India Sir Syed had a different attitude because of his friendly approach towards British India, was due to which he wanted to extricate Muslims from the darkness of ignorance and with the cooperation of British he wanted the Muslims should get modern education and they would be raised to the path of progress and it was the only panacea for Muslim as Sir Syed thought. But Jamaluddin Afghani, had the interests of all Muslims, whether they belonged to India or West Asia, he had the anti-British attitude and Pan Islamism was the cure of Muslims oppression and atrocities. Also Sir Syed Ahmad particularly thought of the security of the Indian Muslims. These were the basic differences between two great contemporaries. These two persons were working in different circumstances and condition. Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has rightly said that Jamaluddin Afghani had to face the sick man of Europe while Sir Syed had to deal with the Dead Man of India.²⁵

(C) Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Deoband Movement

In the annals of modern Muslim India, two schools – the Deoband and Aligarh have been very prominent in education and politics. The foundation of both the schools was laid down around 60's of the nineteenth century in the background of sheer frustration in order to achieve the same goal through different approaches. The founders of both the schools were the disciples of the same teacher and had received purely traditional education. But with the lapse of

²³ . Ibid., p. 134.

²⁴ . Ibid., p. 134.

²⁵ . K.A. Nizami, Syed Ahmad Khan Aur Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, *Aligarh Magazine Special Aligarh Number*, 1953, p. 119.

time, their attitudes to education and politics took different ways. Maulana Qasim Nanatwi, the founder of the Darul Uloom at Deoband had fought at *Shamli* in the revolt of 1857, but escaped arrest and finding no course to oust the British, turned to theological education as means to do away with the British in the long run. Sir Syed had also personally witnessed the outbreak of rebellion at Bijnaur and many European staff stationed there and he founded the *Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College* at Aligarh for modern education to enable the Muslims to cooperate with the British in its earlier stages but to fight in the long run for the independence of the country after acquiring the modern education.

Thus both the schools made their respective contribution for the betterment of the Muslim community because of the circumstances that appeared in the post-revolt India.²⁶

Mohammad Qasim Nanatwi (1832-1880), a traditional religious scholar who founded *Darul Uloom Madrasa* at Deoband in 1867²⁷ in U.P. to "reorient the Muslim community to its original cultural and religious identity"²⁸ by getting rid of the "theological corruptions and ritual degradation"²⁹ kept away from the British and tried to ameliorate the condition of the Muslims through Islamic education and independent profession. The Deoband provided religious (orthodox) leadership. It did not denounced western education though disassociated itself from it on the plea that Islamic traditionalist sciences were running the risk of "extinction" in India.³⁰ It did not seek British financial patronage. It was mainly to keep its autonomy. It took anti-British³¹ stand on

²⁶ . See Shan Mohammad, *Education and Politics*, op.cit. 'Preface'.

²⁷ . For details of Deoband Madarsa, see, Ziaul Hasan Farique, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963).

²⁸ . Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan (1857-1964)*, (London: OUP, 1967), p. 104.

²⁹ . W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (Reprint Edition) New York: Arms Press, 1974, p. 295.

³⁰ . Aziz Ahmad and G.E. Van Gruntbaun, ed., *Muslim Self Statement in India and Pakistan, 1857-1968*, p. 6.

³¹ . Aziz Ahmad & Von, loc.cit.

political issues and in due course it fought for the freedom of India along with the nationalists.³²

On the contrary, Sir Syed, who was also an erudite scholar of Islamic learning, but he also popularized English education and culture by seeking British patronage. Not only did he believe in the permanence of British rule but also upheld the view that the progress and prosperity of the Muslims depended on the acquisition of English education and the goodwill of Colonial rulers. Hence he channelized all his energy to the course of education. In this way the aim and objectives of both Deoband and Aligarh school was the same but they took separate path to achieve their goals.

(D) Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Nadwatul Ulema Movement

The creation of Nadwatul Ulema at Lucknow about 1893-94 was to provide the study of Islamic studies there, and it was founded by a group of Ulema and Maulana Shibli Nomani (1857-1914)³³ was one of the founding member of *Nadwatul Ulema*. The purpose of founding *Nadwatul Ulema* was to create a tradition of liberal religious education. Nadwa, occupied a middle position between Deoband and *Aligarh school*. It aimed at imparting instruction in Muhammadan literature, cultivating goodwill and harmony among the other different sects of Muslim and constituted a committee for giving decision in disputed religious matters and reversing the curriculum of Mulla Nizamuddin i.e. Darse-e-Nizami. English was taught as a second language while Nadwa taught religion as the principal subject and gave instruction in secular knowledge as secondary subject, it was vice versa at Aligarh.³⁴

At Aligarh, Sir Syed who was having a broad thinking in terms of education he had the approach of reconciliation with the western learning and

³² M. Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence on Indian Society*, Meerut, Meenakshi Publication, 1937, p. 85.

³³ Shibli Nomani (1857-1914), born at Azamgarh and educated at Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Rampur and Lahore. He served as a Professor of Persian and Arabic at M.A.O. College 1882-1892 and Education Department at Hyderabad (1899-1904). He was a founder member of Nadwatul Ulema at Lucknow.

³⁴ For further details see, Aziz Ahmad and Van Grunebaun, eds., op.cit., p. 11. *Muslim Chronicle*, 28th Feb. 1895 (Microfilm copy) Reel No. 1.

sciences with the Islamic learning and wanted to provide better knowledge of European learning with Islamic learning to broaden the mental faculty of Muslims. While the *Nadwa* was basically founded to provide Islamic learning though it also introduced English as second language but religion was the principal subject because Maulana Shibli wanted to provide Islamic faith and learning for which he considered it necessary for the progress of the Muslim community.

(E) Aligarh Movement and its Impact on the region of Bihar

Sir Syed was the first and foremost person to have persuaded the North Indian Muslims to obtain modern education and the place from where he launched his educational mission was Aligarh and after the name of Aligarh town it came to known in modern Indian History as Aligarh Movement. The great impact of Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was felt on Northern India during 19th century, though there were other places too, where significant impact and its replication took place. And one such place in Northern India was Muzaffarpur³⁵ in (Northern Bihar) during 19th century.

It was under the leadership of Syed Imdad Ali³⁶ who initiated the movement for modern education in Northern Bihar in Muzaffarpur through his *Bihar Scientific Society*³⁷ founded after Sir Syed's Scientific Society. Syed Imdad Ali who had started his career as an employee in the Revenue

³⁵ . Muzaffarpur : The town of Muzaffarpur is said to have been founded by NawabRaza Khan Muzaffar Jang. In 1872, it was made the district headquarter of Tirhut which then included the present day district of Muzaffarpur, Vaishali, Sitamarhi, Sheohar, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Samastipur. In 1875, the last three were separated to become Darbhanga district whereas the city of Muzaffarpur remained the headquarters of district Muzaffarpur. Presently it is also the headquarters of the Tirhut division consisting of the district of East Champaran, West Champaran, Sheohar, Sitamarhi, Vaishali and Muzaffarpur.

³⁶ . Syed Imdad Ali (d. August 1886). His ancestors had distinguished themselves for political and religious wisdom and had provided important services to the Mughal and the British rulers of India.

³⁷ . Bihar Scientific Society was founded by Syed Imdad Ali of Muzaffarpur on 24th May 1868. Its main objective was to disseminate knowledge of European sciences through the vernacular languages and to establish the schools and printing presses, newspapers and to provide lectures to the native of India of the European knowledge. See for details, W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. 13, London, 1877, p. 164.

Department in 1829 and rose to the post of the Deputy Collector³⁸. Later on he became *Sadar-e-Amin* (Subordinate Judge) after entering into the judicial services and got retirement in 1873. Syed Imdad Ali founded the '*Bihar Scientific Society*' at Muzaffarpur, on 24th May 1868 and he advocated that European Sciences should be taught to the Indians in their own language. He was a true follower of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, he also launched a fortnightly Urdu newspaper, *Akbarul Akhyar*, from September 1868, when he was then posted as Sub-Judge at Muzaffarpur, and he published essays to improve the social, religious, educational and intellectual condition of the people of northern Bihar.³⁹

The efforts of Syed Imdad Ali had the great impact in expanding the development of educational activities and imparting the European Sciences through the medium of vernacular language in Bihar and it resulted into the opening of many vernacular schools in Northern Bihar where European sciences were taught. In the vicinity of Muzaffarpur, particularly at Paroo, Jaitpur, Saran, Narhan, Hardi, Sitamarhi, etc. many vernacular schools were set up. The 'Central College' of Imdad Ali at Muzaffarpur was founded on 7 November 1877. In this way the movement for modern education was launched by Syed Imdad Ali was greatly affected by Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement and he was a true harbinger of Sir Syed's Movement in Bihar.⁴⁰

Thus we could see the impact of Aligarh Movement in Bihar, but there were other places where the impact of Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was quite significant.

³⁸ . Syed Imdad Ali's forefathers had been in the services of Mughals and British rulers of India. Similarly like Sir Syed's forefathers. Both had the same kind of traditional education and both had faced the same trauma of revolt of 1857. Syed Imdad Ali was also an eye witness the revolt of 1857 when he was posted at Arrraha in Bihar like Sir Syed who at that time was posted in Bijnor district of U.P. and witnessed the same.

³⁹ . See for details, B.K. Sinha, Syed Imdad Ali : An Eminent Educationist of 19th Century, *Bihar Journal of Historical Research*, 1970, Ranchi.

⁴⁰ . See for details, M. Sajjad, 'Sir Syed's Movement for Modern education in Muzaffarpur (Bihar)', in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: *Vision and Mission* edited by S. Iraqi, Manohar Publication, pp. 181-197, Delhi, 2008.

(F) Impact of Aligarh Movement in Rajasthan

The contribution of Aligarh Movement is remarkable for the development of Muslim education in Indian sub-continent during 20th century. The impact of Aligarh Movement also felt significantly in the province of Ajmer and Merwara⁴¹ in 20th century. It is significant to note that for the very first time the All India Muslim Educational Conference's annual meeting held after gap of 42 years at Ajmer under the president ship of Sir Shah Sulaiman. The Ajmer session of the Conference is remarkable in the history of Muslim education of Rajasthan because it strongly propagated the idea of providing modern, vocational and traditional education to the Muslims of Rajasthan. It passed significant resolutions for the development of modern and traditional education not only the Muslim males but also to the Muslim women. It also created awareness about western and scientific learning among Muslims and the various resolutions of Ajmer session of the Conference sought the attention of British Government as well as princely states of Rajputana and princely state of Tonk towards the prevalent abysmal condition of Muslim education in 20th century.

The Ajmer⁴² session of the Conference (1928) had a distinct place in the annals of Muslim history. The neglected region of Rajputana⁴³ became centre of annual meeting of the Conference in 1928 when it sought the attention of the Muslim community and thus the meeting of the Conference was organized at

⁴¹ The present district of Ajmer derives its name from the headquarters town of Ajmer. Before independence, Ajmer-Merwara was an isolated province of British India in Rajputana. It comprised of two districts, viz., Ajmer and Merwara. See for details; B.N. Dhoundeyal, *District Gazetteer, Ajmer*, Sharma Brother Electromatic Press, Alwar (Raj.) 1966, p.1.

⁴² The district is situated in the centre of the State between 25°38' and 26°58' north latitudes and 73°54' and 75°22' east longitudes. See *Ajmer Gazetteer*, op.cit.

⁴³ **Rajputāna** was the pre-1949 name of the present-day Indian state of Rājasthān, the largest state of the Republic of India in terms of area. During British period, this area had 23 Princely states, as well as one chiefdom, one estate, and the British district of Ajmer-Merwara. Most of the ruling princes were Rajputs, the warrior rulers who entered the region in the 7th century AD. The largest states were Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Jaipur, and Udaipur. In 1947 the Princely states were consolidated and the princes were pensioned off.

Ajmer .The Muslim population⁴⁴ of the town of Ajmer invited the Central Standing Committee of the Conference to hold its session there. Among the prominent Muslims who invited the Conference sitting at Ajmer, the name of Shahebzadah Abdul Waheed Khan and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, come first but the name of Rai Bahadur Seth Tikumchand of Ajmer had a silver lining in the history of the Conference as he extended all support to make the Conference's session a grand success. He gave his ancestral house for the stay of guests of the Conference.⁴⁵ A Reception Committee of fifteen members was formed in the house of Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg. Seth Abdul Latifullah General Merchant selected as its President, Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg as its Secretary and Syed Husnain selected its Assistant Secretary. President of the Conference Sir Shah Sulaiman, Moulvi Sir Abdur Rahim Baksh and other prominent guests were lodged at the house of Seth Tikamchand. Rests of the delegates of the Conference were provided different lodges for their stay. The Islamia Moinia School⁴⁶ selected for the meeting of the Conference and its Osman Hall reserved for the same. The upper storey of the school was decorated for the educational exhibition for which different articles were brought from twenty-five places for the delegates.⁴⁷ Presidential address was given by Sir Shah Sulaiman, the judge of Allahabad High Court. His Presidential address is a comprehensive document which guides the Muslim education in 20th century and still it has its relevance in 21st century as it incorporates almost every aspects of education and it further suggested ways for the future education to

⁴⁴ According to the 1951 census the total number of Hindu population was 5,99,524 and the Muslim population was of the district was 48,886 which formed 7% of the total population. See, *Ajmer Gazetteer*, op. cit., p.104

⁴⁵ See All India Muslim Educational Conference (AIMEC) 1928 session Ajmer, *Punjab Salah Tarikh*, p.258.op.cit.

⁴⁶ Government Moinia Islamia Multipurpose Higher Secondary School was started in the year 1910 by some prominent Muslim citizens of the city under a trust for the education of the children of their community .The school was however provincialized in 1918and the admission was opened to all communities. Teaching of Theology however continued till1947 and the salary of the teachers paid by Durgah Committee. The school was brought under the Associated Schools Project Scheme of UNESCO in the year 1956 and was the first to be selected as a Pilot Schoolin1958. It was raised to the present standard in 1959.This is the only institution in Ajmer where Urdu and Persian are taught.

⁴⁷ See *Punjab Salah Tarikh* pp.258-59. op.cit.

the Muslim education.⁴⁸ Significant resolutions were passed and pledge was taken to improve the decadence position of Muslims throughout the region of Rajasthan. Various resolutions could be traced out from the Urdu version of the records of the proceedings of the All India Muslim Educational Conference. The Ajmer Session of the Conference sought the attention of not only the British government but it also appealed the princely states of Rajputana to take remedial measures to improve the educational standard of the Muslims. In this regards resolutions were passed which had direct bearing on the problems of the Muslim education. Some of the important resolutions are as follows:

Protection of Educational Rights of Muslims: Following suggestions and ways were required from the British government to protect the educational rights of the Muslims.

- a. Muslim representatives should be appointed in Academic Institutes of the Government.
- b. Sufficient vacancies should be created for Muslim students in Academic Institutes of the Government.
- c. Representation of Muslims should be made in the Committee of Government Inspectors of Education.
- d. Representatives of Muslim should be appointed in Senates and Syndicate of Universities and in the educational Boards of Middle and Secondary Education.
- e. Muslim students should have a share in the Government scholarship, which is given for foreign studies.
- f. Arrangement should be made to provide religious and teaching of Urdu in Government school.⁴⁹

Military Education: Conference's attention was also centered over the issue of military education and it requested that Government should provide military

⁴⁸ See Presidential address, AIMEC, Ajmer Session 1928, *Punjab Salah Tarikh* p.259.op.cit.

⁴⁹ See Resolution No.1 AIMEC. Ajmer Session, 1928.

education to Muslims in its schools⁵⁰. It also appealed that representation should be given to Muslims in centrally governed Educational Committees at Block level.⁵¹

Female Education: Focus was also given on the needs of the female education in the country. In this regard, following suggestions were given.

- a. The curriculum of the female education should be in accordance with the needs of the society.
- b. Government should provide trained women teachers to the Girls Schools.
- c. The medium of instruction for the primary and secondary education of the Girls should not be English and even it should not be made compulsory subject of the curriculum at this level.⁵²

Vocational Education: Attention was given on the need of Vocational Education in Madrasas and Conference's delegates raised voice to introduce vocational education in Madrasas. Besides it, demand was also made to introduce separate schools for vocational education where provision of education of small scale industries and handicrafts should be made.⁵³

Establishment of Central Library: For the posterity of Urdu language and its development, proposal was mooted out to establish a Central Library. In this favor following resolution was passed.

“This Conference considers it necessary to establish a Central Library for the preservation of Urdu books, translated or compiled on different subjects so that development of Urdu language and its posterity could be arranged...since the infrastructures are available at Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. Even sufficient staffs are also present there; therefore the Central Library must be established in the premises of Aligarh Muslim University. Muslim authors,

⁵⁰ See Resolution No.2, Ibid.

⁵¹ See Resolution No.3, Ibid.

⁵² See Resolution No. 7, Ibid.

⁵³ The above Resolution No. 7 was proposed by Prof. Shamshul Ghani, Training College, and seconded by Raza Hussain Khan. See for details, Resolution No.19, p.264. Ibid.

writers and prominent personalities are requested to donate their written works in Urdu language to the proposed library.”⁵⁴

Need of Inspectors for Islamia Moinia School: Request was also made to appoint an inspector for Moinia School. In this connection an appeal was made from the provincial government of Ajmer and Merwara to appoint inspectors for Moinia School who should be under the supervision of the Department of Education, the highest authority and they also should have the power to grant funds for the development of the Moinia School.⁵⁵

Need of an Educational Board of Control: Resolution was passed to establish an Educational Board of Control in the province of Ajmer and Merwara wherein representation of Muslims should be given.

Upgradation of Moinia High School to Intermediate level: Considering the educational importance of Moinia School for the Muslims, demand was made to convert it into intermediate level since it had served its services to the Muslims from its inception. Following proposals were put forwarded in this regards.

- a. Moinia High School should be upgrade to Intermediate level where arrangement should be made for the education of commerce and other vocational subjects of utility.
- b. Teaching of Arabic should be given special attention in the curriculum.
- c. The management of proposed Intermediate Moinia School should be under a talented Head Master who would have bright Muslim staffs under him.
- d. A Boarding House should be constructed in the proposed Intermediate Moinia School, so that the students who would be receiving education there could live comfortably.

⁵⁴ The above Resolution was proposed by Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg and seconded by Moulvi Mohiuddin. See Resolution No.19, p.269. Ibid.

⁵⁵ See Resolution No.20. Ibid.

- e. Arrangement of useful manual training of different works should be provided there.⁵⁶

Grants for Female Education: A proposal of two lakh rupees was made for the establishment of a Girls School in the state of Ajmer and Merwara. In this effect following resolution was passed.

“Considering the present condition of the status of Muslim female education, and its increasing necessity in the region of Ajmer and Merwara province, Conference feels it necessary to establish a full-fledged Government College. It also sought the attention of the British Government and the provincial government and the princely government to provide some financial grants for the same.”⁵⁷

Muslim Education in the Princely state of Rajputana: Steps were also taken to draw the attention of the Hindu Princely States of Rajputana on the educational condition of Muslims. In this respect, following steps were discussed in the Conference’s meeting.

- a. Money should be spent adequately on the education of Muslims in the princely states of Rajputana and request was made to their Hindu rulers.
- b. Urdu language should be given the place of second language in the official purpose and it should be introduced in other princely states where it is not in official use.
- c. Urdu should be promoted in different academic institutions.⁵⁸
- d. **Recruitment of Muslims in Railway Workshop:** Demand for the recruitments of Muslims in the local workshop of Railway as an apprentice was made through the Conference’s platform. It was also resolved that suitable technical training should be imparted for the same to the Muslims.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See Resolution No. 22. Ibid.

⁵⁷ See Resolution No. 23. Ibid.

⁵⁸ See Resolution No. 23. Ibid.

⁵⁹ See Resolution No. 24. Ibid.

Muslim Education in the Princely State of Tonk: In the Muslim Princely state of Tonk, efforts were made to bring excellence in Muslim education. In this direction resolutions were passed and following suggestions were given to improve the condition of Muslim education.

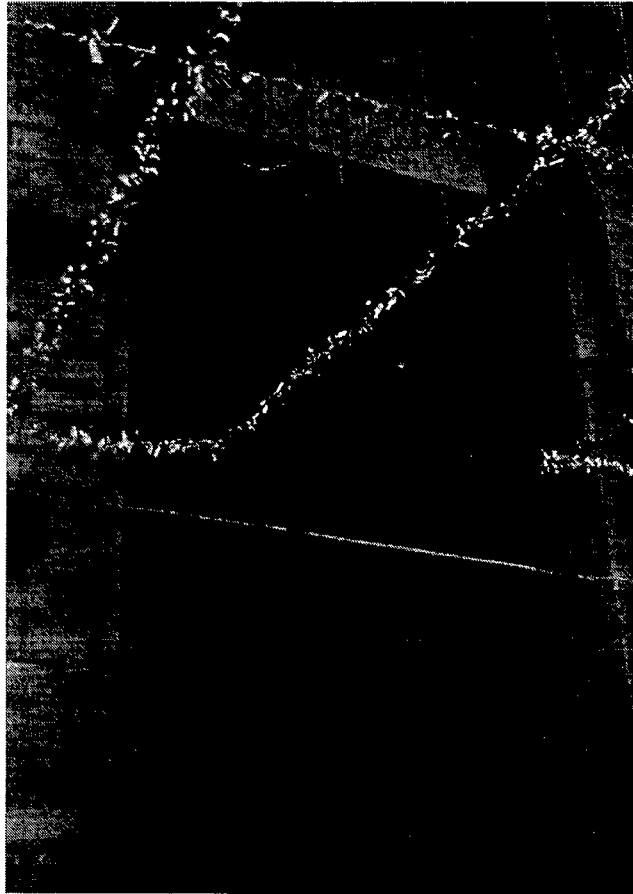
- a. Expenditure on Muslim education should be increased to 10%.
- b. Trained Teachers should be appointed in the different high schools of the princely state of Tonk.
- c. Anglo-Vernacular schools should be established in different parganas of the state
- d. Proper arrangement should be made for the education of Muslim education.⁶⁰

Besides these resolutions, other significant steps were also taken to improve the educational standard of Muslims of Rajasthan. Resolutions were passed towards the local demands of the people of Ajmer, which are as follows:

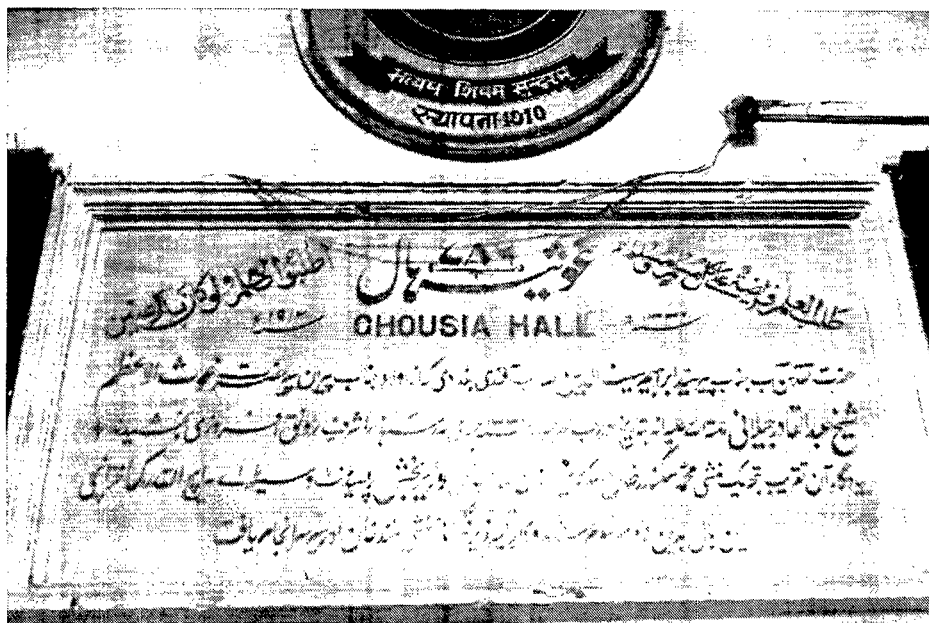
- a. Efforts should be made to revive the Oriental College of Jaipur which had been the premier institution of Muslims where Arabic and Persian were taught.
- b. Financial grants were sought for the development of the Middle School of Jaipur.
- c. Appeals were made for the financial grants to the Muslim Institutes of Ajmer which had been serving for the cause of Muslims. Demand was also made for the land to construct of a new building for the Institute from the municipality of Jaipur.
- d. Requests were also made to the ruler of Alwar state to make the provision of study of the Quran and Theology in the private Maktabas of the Alwar state.
- e. Persian as a language of study in the Intermediate College of Udaipur was also put in the demand lists of the Conference.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See Resolution No, 26. Ibid

⁶¹ See Resolution No. 27,29,33,34,35 and 36. Ibid.



Main Gate of Moina Islamia School
Ajmer



Ghouseia Hall of Moina Islamia School
Ajmer

The efforts made by the All India Muslim Educational Conference in its history from its inception up to the pre partition period, we found that the Conference's annual meeting at Ajmer was more significant than its earlier sessions held at many places. Here comprehensive steps were taken to improve the educational status of the Muslims of Rajasthan. Thus we could see the impact of Aligarh Movement was quite profound in the region of Rajasthan.

(G) Impact of Aligarh Movement on Southern India

The All India Muslim Educational Conference has played an important role in disseminating western knowledge and modern education to the Muslims, and equally it had also served in providing Islamic and traditional education to them throughout the Indian sub-continent from its inception. The great contribution made by Sir Syed and his Aligarh Movement for the development of Muslim education during 19th century, was carried forward in 20th century by his successors and his associates through the platform of All India Muslim Educational Conference.

Aligarh Movement in the 20th century reached in Southern India through the Sir Syed's All India Muslim Educational Conference, a reputed educational body established by him in 1886. Its platform provided better opportunities to the Muslims of India to discuss the problem of Muslim education and to work out its solution on all India basis. It also gave an opportunity to raise their educational concerns to the British government and much emphasis was given in creating awareness towards their educational needs and aspiration. Attention of British government was also invited to improve their educational system. Even demand was raised to get grants in aids to establish Muslim educational institution throughout the country.

From 1886 to 1896 the epicentre of the Conference was confined to northern part of the country, particularly U.P. and Punjab was its area of influence. During the life time of Sir Syed it faced opposition from Bengal

Province but after his death, Syed Amir Ali, Mirza Suzat Ali Beg, Nawab Salimullah, Justice Abdur Rahim Fazlul Haque, they supported the activities of the Muslim Educational Conference and in 1904, in Rajshahi (Bengal) four thousand people attended a meeting in which they decided to establish the branches of All India Muslims Educational Conference throughout the Bengal⁶². In this way Conference organized its every sessions in different part of the country and thoroughly discuss the problems of the Muslim education and their solutions were also provided by the participants of the Conference and even adequate coverage was provided to the proceedings of the Conference by Press. The *Pioneer* thanked Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for his magnificent services to the cause of Muslims and called him a ‘*Messiah*’ and ‘Guide’ who rescued the boat that were sinking in ignorance⁶³. Inspired by the achievement of the Conference, the Muslims of Bombay formed Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference in 1900 for the educational development of the Muslim boys and girls and they worked for the development of education in Bombay Presidency. But the activities of the Conference were not only confined northern and western parts of the country, it too had its impact on the southern part of the country and the message of Aligarh Movement was brought here through the vehicle of the All India Educational Conference. For the first time in the history of Muslims education in South India Conference’s sitting was organized at Madras in 1901 under the presidentship of justice Bodam. Muslims of South India extended their support to hold its first session in South India⁶⁴.

For the arrangements of the delegates of the Conference, a local committee of different persons was formed under the supervision of Haji Abdul HadiBadshah who was appointed as its General Secretary. Special guests from

⁶². Sec. Amanullah Khan Sherwani, *All India Muslim Educational Conference Ke Sau Sal*, Aligarh, 1994.

⁶³. *The Pioneer*, January 4, 1889.

⁶⁴. See for details *Punjab Salah Tarikh*, All India Muslim Educational Conference, edited by Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani, 1937, Aligarh, pp. 82-83.

Madras Presidency. His Excellency Governor of Madras Mr. Lord Ampthill⁶⁵ was invited and suitably attended by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk Bahadur, the Honorary Secretary of the Conference. Delegates from different states participated in great number. About 1103 delegate members and 391 visitors attended the meeting of the Conference.⁶⁶

Various resolutions were passed not only for the development of Muslim education but also for the development of Mappilas Community of the Southern India. Some of the resolutions are quite important and had the direct implications on the British government as it provided a good opportunity to make Muslim British relations in a cordial manner. Resolution No. 1, 2 and 3 were passed to express the Conference solidarity with the British government and the Amir of Afghanistan. The first resolution reads as follows:

“Muslims of Hindustan express its grief over the death of Queen Impress of Hindustan who had extended her help and support for the Muslims of India⁶⁷”.

The above resolution was proposed by Mohsinul Mulk and seconded by Sultan Mohammad Mohiuddin Khan.

The second resolution reads as:

“The Conference expresses its condolence over the death of Amir of Afghanistan. His Excellency, Amir Abdur Rehman Khan who was an exponent of education for the Afghan Muslims and was also a strong supporter of British government.⁶⁸”

The third resolution reads as follows:

⁶⁵ (Arthur) Oliver Villiers Russell, 2nd Baron Ampthill, (19 February 1869 – 7 July 1935) was a British peer, rower and administrator who served as the Governor of Madras from October 1900 to February 1906 and acted as the Viceroy of India from April to December 1904. Oliver Russell was born on 19 February 1869 to Odo Russell, 1st Baron Ampthill and Lady Emily Russell in Rome and was educated at Eton and Oxford. Oliver Russell succeeded to the barony of Ampthill at the age of 15 on the death of his father. Russell served as the Assistant Private Secretary to Joseph Chamberlain in 1895 to 1897 and then Private Secretary from 1897 to 1900, when he was appointed Governor of Madras. At the age of 31, Russell became the youngest-ever to be appointed Governor of Madras and served from 1900 to 1906. Russell also served as the Viceroy of India from April to December 1904, when Lord Curzon was re-elected for a second term.

⁶⁶ See the *Report of AIMEC*, 1901, session of Madras.

⁶⁷ See *Ibid.* p. 83.

⁶⁸ See Resolution No. 1, 2, All India Muslim Educational Conference, Madras Session 1901, in *Punjab Salah Tarikh, op.cit.*, p.83.

“The Conference feels its happiness on the coronation of George Edward VII on the throne of England and Conference extends its congratulations for the same⁶⁹.”

Besides, many other resolutions in respect to Muslim education were also passed. These are as follows:

Establishment of Boarding House for Madrasa-e-Azam

For the development of Muslim education and to provide modern education to the Muslim students request was made from the government to establish a Boarding House at Madrasa-e-Azam.⁷⁰

Needs of Fund to the Muslims of South India

Resolution No. 8 was passed to raise funds for the South Indian Muslims to establish schools and also to distribute scholarship to their children.⁷¹

Need of Reformation in Social Custom and Tradition

Resolution pertaining to social, religious reforms to the Muslim community was also passed against the ill practices in the Muslim society of South India.

Female Education

To make female education more comfortable for the Muslim girls and also to expand it in the Madras Presidency resolution⁷² were passed in this respect. Emphasis was also given to give a new shape to the existing Hobart⁷³ Girls School.

⁶⁹. See Resolution No. 3, *Ibid*.

⁷⁰. See Resolution No. 4, *Ibid*.

⁷¹. See Resolution No. 8, *Ibid*.

⁷². See Resolution No. 17, *Ibid*.

⁷³ Vere Henry Hobart, Lord Hobart (8 December 1818 – 27 April 1875) was a British peer and colonial administrator. Hobart was born on 8 December 1818 at Welbourne, Lincolnshire to Augustus Edward Hobart-Hampden, 6th Earl of Buckinghamshire and Mary Williams. In 1840, he graduated from Trinity College, Oxford with a Bachelor of Arts (B.A). On 4 August 1853, he married Mary Katherine Carr, daughter of Reverend Thomas Carr and Catherine Emily MacMahon. He worked as a clerk in the Board of Trade in 1842. He was the private secretary to Sir George Grey at the Home Office in 1855. On 30 May 1856, he matriculated from the Trinity College. He was styled as Lord Hobart from 1849 till his death. He was the

A part from these resolutions, a number of many other resolutions were passed to enhance the status of Muslim education throughout territory of South India. These are as follows:

1. The Local Committee of the Conference which came into being after the Conference meeting at Madras, it is requested to make it a permanent Islamic Education Committee Association which should be under the direct control of the Central standing committee of the Conference. Request was also made from this committee to work for the Muslim of South India round the year.
2. Request was also made to give a special status to Urdu language and for its use in official examinations of the government services. Important focus was also given for the establishment of Muslim University at Aligarh.
3. Inclusion of Urdu and Arabic language was made to introduce in government Municipal Schools.
4. Religious education was also given a due importance for the Muslim students in government schools.
5. Appointment of Muslim Educational Inspectors was sought in Muslim Madrasas.⁷⁴

The 15th Session of the Madras Conference was a great success under the Presidentship of Justice Bodam, who was one of those Englishman to whom the upliftment of the Muslim community was a major concern. He found the Muslims of Madras Presidency in the deplorable condition both educationally and economically and while he was in service he lent his support to their upliftment even being the chief justice of the Madras High Court. He also acted as President of the Anjuman Mufeedul Islam of Madras, whose aim

Governor of Madras from 15 May 1872 till his death on 27 April 1875. He died at Government House, Madras in 1875

⁷⁴. See various resolution of 1901 session of the Conference, *Panja Salah Tarikh, op.cit.*, pp. 83-86.

was to remove ignorance and superstition from amongst the Musalmans of the Presidency.⁷⁵

Justice Bodam welcomed the idea of the holding the Mohammad Conferences in Madras and extend his support to make it a grand success as he very much desired that Madrasa-e-Azam founded in memory of the Nawab of Karnataka, which was then taken up by the Government for English education, should be entrusted back to Muslims and be elevated to a Degree College. Mr. Bodam also pointed out in his Presidential address on the importance of religious and secular education, besides putting more emphasis on moral education and character building of the students which he thought necessary for their over- all development.⁷⁶

We also emphasized on the ideal of self-help through which he wanted to solve the problem of Muslim education and even he exhorted the Muslim community to extend their generous donations for the cause of the Muslim education. He wanted to create a new Madrasa for the Muslims of South India on the pattern of Aligarh's M.A.O. College. He thought that British government would help them in their educational needs if they would support through the ideal of self-help for their own educational advancement. To quote Justice Bodam:

"..... Now is the time to make your effort you determine upon that course, for I believe that steps have been taken to acquire a new site for the Madrasa and I would urge you to strain every effort to create for yourselves an Aligarh here for Southern India as the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan created for Northern India. Believe me, it is not impossible. You Mussalmans here know how Hindus and other have willingly assisted you in your efforts to make this Conference a success. Do you doubt that they will help you if they see you straining every effort to create for yourselves a school such as you require enabling you to educate your children so as to fit them to become an honour and a credit to themselves, their co-religionists, and their country? Far from it; you will merit and will receive their warmest sympathy in your efforts and I doubt not to a great extent will obtain substantial assistance as

⁷⁵ . See, All India Muslim Educational Conference 1901 Session of Madras, Proceedings, ed by Shan Mohammad, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

⁷⁶ . Ibid. pp. 81-114.

well. The great point is to get management of your own school. The Boarding House and Hostels can come later. One man can build one set of rooms, another, and so on and in time by constant and undeviating determination you will have your own Aligarh. You must not fold your hands and say, "We are too poor". I fear it is the attitude of mind of most of you to expect Government to do for you all that you want. That is impossible; but I feel sure that, when you have clearly shown your determination to help yourselves, Government will be quite willing to aid you."⁷⁷

The success of the Madras Session of All India Muslim Educational Conference had great impact on the Muslims of the southern region of the country. The people of South India welcomed the session of All India Muslim Educational Conference in Madras which contributed significantly in spreading educational awareness among the Muslim community in South India. The impact of the session of All India Educational Conference in Madras felt greatly as *Madras Mail* described its sitting in Madras as important event in South India related to Muslim education. To quote:

"The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference which closed its sittings yesterday is the most important event which has ever taken place in Southern India in connection with Mohammedan education. The Executive Committee has done its work well, and the arrangements seem to have been highly satisfactory. The fine pandal in "Cathedral Gardens" was admirably adapted to its purpose, and the large assembly gathered together, day by day, should be a great encouragement to the organizers of the Conference. if only the interest now shown results in useful practical measures, the meeting of the Conference here will be fully justified"⁷⁸.

After the successful session of the Conference in Madras an association was founded in 1901 in the form of Muslim Educational Association of South India (MEASI) which later played a very significant role in the educational and political development of Muslims of South India. Furthermore, in 1904, an alumni of Aligarh's M.A.O. College Abdul Hamid who established a branch of All India Muslim Educational Conference and started working for the

⁷⁷. See the presidential address of Justice Bodam, All India Muslim Educational Conference 1901 Session of Madras, Proceedings, ed by Shan Mohammad, op.cit., p. 94.

⁷⁸. Aligarh Institute Gazette, January 1902.

betterment of the Muslim community in the field of education with association of Muslim Association of Madras which already existed there in South India.⁷⁹

A very significant step was taken for the educational development of the South Indian Muslim when for the second time the All India Muslim Educational Conference held its session in Madras after a gap of 25 years in 1927. It was the better experiences of the Muslims of South India in their educational development that therefore they invited the Central Working Committee of the All India Educational Conference. And thus the Conference held its second session at Madras.

The 1927th session of the Conference also played a more important role in creating educational awareness not only to the people of South India but also for the Mappilas community of Kerala. Conference's various resolutions focused on the Muslim education of the both community. Mention may be made of the significant resolution which was passed regarding the overall development of Mappilas. To quote:

“This Conference intends to establish a board consisting of various members for the educational reformation of the Mappilas. The Board would have the right to expand its membership from time to time.”⁸⁰

For the educational and economic development of Mappilas proposal was also made with the government of Madras to open new schools and colleges where a considerable size of population of Mappilas community lived. Considering the economic backwardness of the Mappilas, proposal for also made to establish an industrial school at the centre of the Malabar region. Provisions were also made to provide then scholarship from primary upto the secondary level of education.⁸¹

⁷⁹. See Mohammad Sajjad, All India Muslim Educational Conference and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Tehzibul Akhlaq*, October, 2006, p. 63-67.

⁸⁰. See Resolution No. 1, 1927th session of the Madras Conference, *Panja Salah Tarikh*, op.cit., p. 264.

⁸¹. See Resolution No. 2, 1927th Conference, Ibid.

On the other hand various similar resolutions (1901) session of Madras of the Conference were also passed for the educational enhancement of the Southern Indian Muslims. These are as follows:

- Emphasis was put on to provide well trained Women Teachers in the school of Madras.
- Emphasis was also given to provide free education to the Muslim girls.
- Request was also made for the free transportation to the Muslim girls from the Municipality Board to carry them from local schools.
- Request was also made to provide financial assistant to the D.T. Muslim Orphanage of Calicut.
- Scholarship also demanded for the study of Muslim students in Europe.
- Emphasis was made to appoint Educational Inspectors for Islamic schools.⁸²

Thus in 1927 its session organized under the presidentship of Shaikh Abdul Qadir⁸³ who was also present in its first session which held in 1901 at Madras. He had realized its impact on his mind. He appreciated the Muslims for the efforts in spreading the message of Sir Syed to reform the Muslim community through modern education. He also exhorted the efforts of South Indian people the steps which they had taken for the education of South Indian Muslims.

⁸². See Resolution No. 4, 6, 7, 17, 30, 13, *Ibid*.

⁸³. Shaikh Abdul Qadir born at Kasur, Punjab, 1874; graduated from Forman Christian College, Lahore. 1894; after a decade of his graduation joined Lincolns Inn for Bar-at-Law, 1904; started career as a journalist and edited the *Observer* (English Weekly) 1898-1904 and the *Makhzan* (Urdu monthly; 1901-11; *Makhzan* brought him much fame and he continued his literary activities along with his practice; elected member Punjab Legislative Council, 1923; represented India at the 7th Assembly of the League of Nations, 1926; Revenue member of the Punjab Executive Council, 1927; member Public Service Commission 1929; Judge Lahore High Court. 1934; member Council of the Secretary of State for India, 1934; Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, 1937-39; officiated as Law Member of Government of India, 1939; Chief Justice Bhawalpur State, 1940-43; Joined the Unionist Party of the Punjab but soon took active part in the All India Muslim League; presided the All India Muslim League at Delhi. 1926; wanted Hindu-Muslim Unity and favoured a table talk between the leaders of both to sort out the differences; also wanted industrialization of India but preached Khaddar and homemade commodities for use; popularized modern education among Muslims and acted as chairman of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam for many years; knighted; died 1950.

To quote Shaikh Abdul Qadir:

“I had the pleasure of being present at the Madras Conference of 1901 which may be regarded as the beginning of an effort on the part of the Muslims of this Presidency to tackle the problem of their education. As a result of that Session you formed the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India in 1901. A gathering of Mussalmans from all parts of Southern India attended by delegates from District Associations affiliated with the central body was held in 1904 and the Association has been meeting, since from time to time and has done useful work in various ways. It has collected subscriptions to give scholarships to deserving youths for prosecuting their studies. It has established new schools in many places and strengthened the old institutions. It has been making representations to Government on questions connected with the education of Mussalmans and particularly concerning the education of Mappillas. It was mainly due to the representations originally made by the All India Conference of 1901 and reiterated on many subsequent occasions by the Muhammadan Education of Southern India that the Madrasa-i-Azam at Madras which was originally a High School, developed into a full-fledged College. At one time there was some danger of its being reduced to an Intermediate College, but the Association succeeded in preventing any such reduction of its usefulness. Another institution known as the Harris School, which was originally a High School under the management of a Christian Mission and subsequently came under Government control, was also taken over eventually by this Association and has made great improvement in its hands⁸⁴.”

Therefore, we can see a significance change in the educational development of the Muslim community of Southern India, after the successful session of the Conference at Madras, 1901, which played a great role in fulfilling the educational needs of the Muslim community. The pathetic condition of the Muslim education which once loomed in the Madras Presidency during 1901 session of the Conference and it was well mention by Justice Bodam. To quote:

“The number of boys in public primary schools was 57704, but in these lower secondary schools there were only 1529, a most appalling difference. Only 11 took the B.A. Degree. Not a single Muhammadan qualified for the M.L., in Medicine, Surgery, Engineering or Teaching. The University Calendar, which includes Mysore, Travencore and Hyderabad, shows that out of

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Proceeding of 1927 session of *AIMEC* in Madras, p. 420-21., Shan Mohammad, *op.cit.*



**All India Muslim Educational Conference Building
Aligarh**



**Madrasa-e-Azam (Madras)
Which was taken over by All India Muslim Educational
Conference and converted it into a Degree College**

7230 Graduates 57 was Mussalmans, and out of 150 Licentiates in Medicine and Surgery 7 were Mussalmans”⁸⁵.

But after the activities of the Conference in Madras and the hard work done by the people of the South India for the cause of educational development of Muslim community in South India there was change came into the state of Mohammadan education and improvement could be noticed. To quote Shaikh Abdul Qadir’s presidential address in 1927:

“The awakening created by the Conference and the exertion of your Association that kept up its work, we find that the number of Mohammadan pupils in secondary schools in the Presidency had risen to 9320 in the year 1925-26 and Muhammadans students in Arts Colleges numbered 297 and in Professional Colleges 55. The number of public institutions specially intended for Muhammadans was 2983 and their strength is 183157. It is gratifying to note that the latest quinquennial report records even greater progress. I am indebted to the Government of Madras, (Ministry of Education) for favouring me with up-to-date information in advance of the publication of the report. The total number of Muhammadan institutions of all kinds is now 4036 and their strength is 221408. The total number of Muhammadan scholars reading in all classes of public institutions is 242680. The Government Muhammadan College, Madras (i.e. the old Madrasa-i-Azam) has had new College is 55; and six of the students are reading in the Junior B.A. class for Urdu and Persian. The number of Muhammadans reading in Arts Colleges is 355 (including 4 women) and the number of Muhammadans reading in Processional Colleges is 73”⁸⁶.

Thus there was a tremendous change in the educational status of the Muslim community of South India because of the constant efforts made by the people of South India and the role played by All India Educational Conference in creating awareness in the Muslim community of south India. On the other hand the impact of Aligarh Movement was not confined in providing educational services to the Muslims of South India, but it also influenced to great extent in creating awareness among the Mappilas of Kerala a degenerate Muslim community in 20th century. And just because of the efforts of All India Muslim

⁸⁵ . Presidential Address of Justice Bodam in All India Mohammadan Educational Conference. Madras Session of 1927. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁸⁶ . *Ibid.* p. 421.

Educational Conference and one *Old Boys* of Aligarh Muslim University Mr. A. Hamid who organized the Kerala Provincial Muslim Educational Conference which held its session in Tellicherry in May 1926 for the educational cause of the Mappillas community. Mr. A. Hamid who became instrumental in dealing with question needs of Mappillas and he also worked for their betterment and even arrangements were made to provide scholarship for them.⁸⁷

Therefore we could see the impact of Aligarh Movement not only to the northern Indian Muslims but it had deepest impact for the educational advancement of the southern Indian Muslims.

⁸⁷. Ibid, p. 439.

CONCLUSION

The year 1857 is a turning point in the history of the Indian Muslims. The Muslim political power which had been gradually declining from the beginning of the 18th century touched its nadir in 1857. The Mughal Empire – for decades an apparition of its former self – was finally liquidated in the terrible blood bath of 1857. But it was more than a mere polity; it symbolized a culture round which the entire fabric of Muslim social behaviour had been woven through the centuries. Its collapse, therefore, dried up the sources of a milieu and left the Muslims helpless and broken. Steeped in medievalism, broken hearted and frustrated, they found themselves in a blind alley, without any means of livelihood and reduced to a state of abject poverty and utter economic destitution. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, whose family had been closely associated with the Mughal court, but who had earlier decided to take up the service of the British – was deeply touched at this schism of their soul. He applied his mind to the task of creating conditions in which his community could make up leeway.

After the revolt, Muslims were targets of the British victimization that held them responsible for revolt. Muslims were especially targeted and uprooted and reduced to the lowest ebb of the society. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was an eye witness to all that happened during the awful days of revolt of 1857 and he had seen the plight of the Muslim community who were being victimized by the British government. When Sir Syed returned to Delhi he came to know that his house had already been ransacked and his mother also suffered due to the rebellion. Even he had seen the subsequent suffering of Muslims at the hands of British antagonism who were hostile to them and it made Sir Syed an old man because the plight of the Muslim community had turned his hair grey also. When the Muslims were banished from Delhi at the time of rebellion and later were allowed to return to their homes, they were required to give proof of their loyalty before gaining entrance to Delhi. These circumstances made Sir Syed to think the various ways and means to improve

the condition of his community. While the Muslim loyalty to the British was being questioned, their attitude towards Christians was of hatred. In this situation Sir Syed had twin tasks. He had to prove that the Muslims were loyal to the British and at the same time to bridge the religious antagonism between the followers of Islam and Christianity. With this purpose he wrote two monographs, namely *Asbab-i-Bagawat-i-Hind* (The Causes of the Indian Revolt) identifying the various causes that led to the rebellion and showing that it was not a popular rebellion. Second monograph which he wrote was the *Loyal Mohammadans of India* in which Sir Syed highlighted the eminent services rendered by Muslims during rebellion and their loyalty towards British and at the same time showed the similarity between the Christianity and Islam and the cordial relations that existed among the followers of both religions from time immemorial.

But overall the aim of Sir Syed was to extricate the Muslim society from obscurantism and to inculcate in them the liberal and western education along with the teaching of Islam as Sir Syed considered it necessary for the moral and material well-being of his community. Sir Syed thought that by providing modern education was necessary as it was the panacea of his community. For this he established M.A.O. College at Aligarh in 1877 which later developed as Aligarh Muslim University in 1920 and subsequently it became the centre of his educational movement which later came to known as Aligarh Movement.

Aligarh Movement was a short of renaissance which ushered in a new era in the history of Muslim India. Its objective was to introduce English and modern education among the Muslim community and to bring a change in the thought process of his conservative community and thus Sir Syed established a pro-British institution where western and oriental knowledge was imparted for the Muslim community particularly and Indians in general. Sir Syed here not only provided modern education to the Muslim community but tried to improve the condition of the Muslim women there in also and he was in favour of providing them Zenana education on the pattern of traditional education which

was the tradition of the Muslim Ashraf family and Muslim women were not allowed for school education. Sir Syed also talked to improve the condition of the Muslim women as he believed that men should be given education first and in turn they would educate their women and thus he believed in infiltration theory. But the task of educating Muslim women on the pattern of modern education and to provide them school education was taken up in 20th century by Sir Syed's successors particularly by the Shaikh Abdullah, Maulvi Karamat Hussain, Mumtaz Ali and many other Muslim intellectuals of the 20th century Aligarh.

Initially Sir Syed Educational Movement seems to be an elitist in nature as Sir Syed provided education to the elite section of the society because he was a scion of aristocracy and therefore his movement at the outset appeared to take the class tones because Sir Syed got tremendous support by the leading Muslims of India who financially helped Sir Syed and his Aligarh Movement for example Sir Syed received financial assistance from the leading aristocrats like the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawab of Rampur and the Queen of Bhopal, along with the Taluqdars of the petty states around Aligarh like Pindrawal, Pahasu, Jahangirabad, Chattari, Danpur and Datawali etc. and thus Sir Syed Educational Movement survived. But it does not mean that Sir Syed did not focus about the education for the masses. It was Sir Syed who founded an all India organization in 1886 commonly known as the All India Muslim Educational Conference which was founded for the sole purpose of spreading the awareness of education among the Muslim masses and because of its annual sessions which were held at the different parts of the country created awareness in Muslim community particularly among the masses thus Sir Syed also established school and Colleges for the masses.

Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was not confined to the tasks of only providing education needed for the Muslim community but it was over all a movement which acted to regenerate the Muslim community in their socio-economic, cultural, educational and political life of his community also. Sir

Syed being a pro-British man, inculcated among his community the lesson of Muslim loyalty and for the same he remained a staunch supporter of the British government and also propagated his ideology of Muslim loyalty to his co-religionists and he forbade them not to indulge in any anti-British agitation like Congress because he thought that confrontation with British government would hamper his movement and it would wipe out the educational prospects for his Muslim community because of it he also opposed the educational politics of the Congress and remained a loyal friend to the British government because he considered the agitational politics of the Congress as pre-mature and this he also forbade his community not to join the Congress and this view point of Sir Syed rightly assured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as, 'his message was appropriate and necessary where it came but it could not be his final ideal of progressive community'. Even the successor of Sir Syed particularly Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk, Sir Ziauddin were the true followers of Sir Syed and they followed the same footsteps of Sir Syed and his ideal of Muslim loyalty but to some extent some of them were held quite contrary views on the certain aspects of the Muslim community with Sir Syed and they oppose British policy against the Muslims in this respect the name may be mentioned of Nawab Viqarul Mulk stands on Urdu-Hindi controversy and Shaikh Abdullah stand in providing Modern education to the Muslim women in 20th century was quite remarkable.

From the beginning of the 20th century Aligarh Movement witnessed a drastic change and the followers of Sir Syed and his successors even the students of the College participated in the national politics of the country which was a taboo for them. But the beginning of the 20th century a remarkable change in the Aligarh politics and we could see the change of gear at Aligarh and both kind of nationalists and separatists trend developed in a pro-British institution at Aligarh. From 1900 to 1947 a chequered history and the Aligarh students could not remain untouched by the spirit of nationalism and espoused the national cause up to 1940. They invited Gokhale, Gandhiji, Jinnah,

Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the host of other eminent nationalists to Aligarh and sang the song in their praise and raised the standard of revolt against the government. Aftab Hall was headquarter of the national activities and Aligarh Muslim University Vice chancellor, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and other senior member of the staff proudly wore *Khadi* and impressed the boys with nationalist ideas who lent their unflinching support to the national movement.

But quite contrary to the expectations, the Congress Ministries of 1937-39 deviated from their policy of secularism and drifted to communal politics which weakened the nationalist hold on the Aligarh Muslim University campus. The Muslim League made the most of such an opportunity and with the regular visits of Qaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other responsible leaders of the Muslim League scared them of the Congress policies and won their support. It was henceforth as W.C. Smith says that 'the institution came under the domination of the Muslim League and by 1941 the emotional centre of Pakistan and that phase obviously exhausted itself in 1947. Thus Pakistan was created by the Muslim League politics from the headquarters of Aligarh. But after 1947, Aligarh was no more pro-Pakistan, which it had been between 1938-1947. Successive Vice Chancellors of Aligarh Muslim University particularly Dr. Zakir Hussain who was an alumnus of its alma mater was the first brought it back to the national track and infused in the students of, a fresh spirit of nationalism which had been languishing for a decade.

Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement was quite different with the Deoband Movement though the purpose of Deoband Movement was the same to provide Islamic learning to Muslims, and it was the only panacea for them to improve the condition of the Muslim community after the revolt of 1857 where Muslims were victimized and targeted. The foundation of the Deoband Movement was laid by Maulana Mohammad Qasim Nanautwi who had fought against the British at Shamli in the revolt of 1857 but escaped arrest, and finding no course to oust the British turned to theological education as a means to do away the

British in the long run. Sir Syed had also personally witnessed the scene of the Revolt, saved British and founded the MAO College at Aligarh for modern education to enable the Muslims to cooperate the British in its earlier stages but to fight in the long run for the independence of India.

Sir Syed thought that purely western sciences and English learning could make Muslim aware of the development of the contemporary world and they could improve their status by adopting modern education but the other reformers thought that only providing religious education and Islamic faith could make change in the Muslim conditions as Maulana Shibli was one of the propagator of this ideology for which he founded Nadwatul Ulema. Shibli Naumani had the opinion that English education and English manner could spoil the Muslim religious faith and the same was propagated by Akbar Allahabadi who the great poet of 20th century India and thus Sir Syed was criticized for his approach to modern education contrary to the views of Shibli Naumani and Akbar Allahabadi. Even Sir Syed was criticized by the *Ulama* of the time and fatwa of *Kufr* was issued by them but Sir Syed belief in modern education was firm and he propagated for the same and did not deviate in providing religious and theological education to his community also, thus maintaining a balance between modern education and religious education.

Sir Syed's was quite different from the reformist ideology of Jamaluddin Afghani. While Sir Syed's concerns was of the Muslim community of India and for their betterment he established a modernist institution i.e. MAO College for which he thought it was the only panacea for the ills of the Muslims cure. While Jamaluddin Afghani wanted to create an institution of Khalifa for the whole Muslim world and gave the concept of pan-Islamism to improve the overall conditions of the Muslim of the world.

Sir Syed Aligarh Movement was not confined to the Northern India but it also reached to the corner of the southern India, Rajputana and other regions of the Indian sub-continent though its greatest impact was felt on Northern India and Muzaffarpur district (Bihar) where it had its deepest impact where

under the leadership of Syed Imdad Ali who through his *Bihar Scientific Society*, launched his movement for educational reform of the Muslim community there which was directly impressed by Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement.

Sir Syed's educational mission was also supported and carried ahead by his associates and successors who were brilliant, energetic and devoted men. They worked for Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement after his death and carried the message of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the other parts of the country. Two most important successors who led Sir Syed movement ahead were Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk. Later on other associates of Sir Syed like Sir Ziauddin, Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, Shibli Nomani, Nazir Ahmad, Zakaullah, Aftab Ahmad Khan and many others acted as a torch bearer of Aligarh Movement and they zealously worked for the establishment of Muslim University after the death of Sir Syed who had a dream to establish the Oxford of his dream at Aligarh. After the death of Sir Syed the successor of Sir Syed followed the same footsteps as set by their departed leader and they established Aligarh Muslim University which was a dream realized by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the same was fulfilled in 1920.

Though Sir Syed's successor and associates were true followers of Sir Syed but some of them were quite different in their approach and ideology with Sir Syed. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk was a true replica of Sir Syed and he followed the Sir Syed ideology of Muslim loyalty to the last of his breathe and never deviated from the path set by Sir Syed. Nawab Viqarul Mulk who was quite different from Sir Syed's standpoint and having a hard temperament who did not want the influence of the European staff at MAO College and when there was need to step in the political arena of Muslim concerns he did not leave the chance and entered into the political field to express the Muslim concerns and for this he founded a political body i.e. Mohammadan Political Association and fought for the Muslim cause and also established Muslim League in 1906 with the help of the other Muslim community of India and thus Aligarh became

the centre of Muslim politics contrary to the view point of Sir Syed who did not want that Muslim community should participate any political issues and they should remain loyal to the British government but here Viqarul Mulk was quite different and fought for the political interest of the Muslim community and also served the Muslim community through Aligarh Movement for their educational advancement.

During Sir Ziauddin's period the Aligarh Movement came on the cross road and Ziauddin being a true follower of Sir Syed he gave all his energies to bring the MAO College on the right path and he did not lent his support to the radical leaders who wanted to convert this M.A.O. College into nationalist institution during Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement as Muslim nationalist leaders like Mohammad Ali Ajmal Khan, M.A. Ansari, Zakir Hussain, Abdul Majeed Khwaja and many others who had their following at M.A.O. College during Khilfat and Non-Cooperation Movement but they were not given a chance to hold the institution and thus Sir Syed's ideology of Muslim loyalty and to make this institution a pro-British and also to promote the educational prospect of the Muslim community with the help of British government was fulfilled under the direction Sir Ziauddin who was successful in saving the institution from the onslaught of radicals.

Thus Aligarh Movement imbibed the ideals of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan by his successors who were able to carry out his educational reform movement and to provide the modern education to the Muslim community of India for their regeneration in the political, social, cultural and educational, economic were taken up ahead by Sir Syed's followers in 20th century. Still Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement imbibed his ideals of secular approach and the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity was maintained by the present Aligarh Muslim University which currently carrying forward the Aligarh Movement at present time and it catering the services in educational field to not only the Muslims of India but also to the other communities of India and its door is open for the whole nations.

SOURCES AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Various unpublished, published sources and works are consulted by me for the present Ph.D. thesis. These are listed below. The sources are arranged according to the location of the repositories. The specific references and details however have been given in the footnotes.

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- Urdu-e-Moalla
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- Reports published in Aligarh Institute Gazettee
- Proceedings of Scientific Society

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APPENDIX-I

SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN (A Brief Chronology)

October 17	1817	Birth at Delhi
	1828	Death at Khwaja Fariduddin, maternal grandfather
	1837	<i>Sayyid-ul-Akhbar</i> started by Sayyid Muhammad Khan
	1838	Death of his father, Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi
February	1839	Appointed Naib Munshi at Agra
December 24	1841	Appointed Munsif at Mainpuri
January 10	1842	Transferred from Mainpuri to Fatehpur Sikri
	1842	Received the title of Jawad-ud-Daula Arif Jung from the Mughal Court
	1842	Completed <i>Jila-ul-Qutub bi Zikril Mahbub</i>
	1844	Completed <i>Tuhfa—i-Hasan and Tashil fi jar-i-Saqil</i>
	1845	Death of Sayyid Muhammad Khan, his brother
	1847	First edition of <i>Asar-us-Sanadid</i> appeared
	1849	Completed <i>Kalamat-ul-Haqq</i>
	1850	Completed <i>Risala Sunnat dar Radi bid'at</i>
	1852	Completed <i>Namiqa dar bayan masala Tasawwur-i-Shaikh</i> and <i>Silsilat-ul-Maluk</i>
	1854	Second edition of <i>Asar-us-Sanadid</i>
January 13	1855	Appointed permanent Sadar Amin at Bijnore
	1855	Edited <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i>
May 10	1857	Revolt broke out
	1857	Death of his Mother at Meerut

April	1858	Appointed Sadar us-Sudoor. Moradabad
	1858	Published <i>Tarikh Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnore</i>
	1859	Nominated Member of Special Commission for hearing appeals about confiscated property
	1859	Published <i>Causes of the Indian Revolt</i>
	1860	Published <i>Loyal Mohammadans of India</i>
	1860	Famine in N.W. Provinces and relief work by Sayyid Ahmad Khan
	1861	French Translation of <i>Asar-us-Sanadid</i> by Garcin de Tassy
	1861	Death of his wife
May 12	1862	Transferred to Ghazipur
	1862	Edited <i>Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi</i>
	1863	Published a pamphlet on education
	1864	Laid the Foundation of a madrasah at Ghazipur
	1864	Transferred to Aligarh
July 4	1864	Elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
December 30	1865	Sent a memorandum to the Government about the intention of the Scientific Society to publish books on agriculture
	1866	Aligarh Institute Gazette started
August 1	1867	Sent a memorandum to the Viceroy for the establishment of a Vernacular University
August 15	1867	Transferred to Benares
September 25	1867	Started homeopathic dispensary and Hospital at Benares
April 1	1869	Left Benares for England
August 6	1869	Received the insignia of C.S.I.
September 4	1870	Left London for India

October 2	1870	Reached Bombay
December 24	1870	<i>Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq</i> started
December 25	1870	Established the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of learning among Mahommadans of India
February	1873	Presented scheme for establishing a College
May 24	1875	Inauguration of the College
June 1	1875	Regular teaching started at the MAO College
	1876	Retired from service
	1876	Started writing commentary on the Qur'an
January 8	1877	Lord Lytton's visit to Aligarh
	1878	Nominated member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council
	1882	Appeared before the Education Commission
	1883	Founded Mahommadan Civil Service Commission Fund Association
	1883	Established Mahommadan Association, Aligarh
	1886	Established Mahommadan Educational Conference
	1887	Member of the Civil Service Commission nominated by Lord Dufferin
August	1888	Established Patriotic Association at Aligarh
	1888	Received K.C.S.I.
	1889	Received the Degree of LL.D. honoris causa from Edinburgh University
	1889	Circulated the Trustee bill
March 27	1898	Death at Aligarh

Glossary

Bismillah:	Literally 'in the name of Allah.' This expression is used by Muslims at the beginning of any activity.
Imam:	Prayer leader; also extended to denote the leader of the community of Muslims.
Madarsa:	An Islamic religious school where subjects like memorization of the Holy Quran, Tafseer (Quarnic interpretation), Sharia (Isalmic Law), Hadis (Recorded sayings and deeds of Prophet Mohammad), Mantiq (Logic) and Islmic history are taught.
Maulvi/Mullah:	A Muslim Dr. of Law; a Muslim theologian or jurist.
Munshi:	Secretary, clerk, reader, writer, interpreter, teacher, specializing in Persian or Urdu. The term was used as a title of respect for an educated man.
Purdah:	Literally, curtain or screen. However in it social meaning, the term refers to the practice in certain Muslim societies of screening women from men.
Sharia:	Literally 'clear path', the term stands for the canon Law of Islam. Sharia is the totality of God's prescriptions for mankind. Regarded as of divine origin and not the result of human legislation, it is concerned with Man's external conformity with the laws of Islam. The Sharia is based on the Quran.
Taqwa:	Virtue of piety.
Takkqwal:	Complete trust in God.
Khalifa:	Religious Head.
Ulema:	Religious scholars.